

Picking
a vice
president

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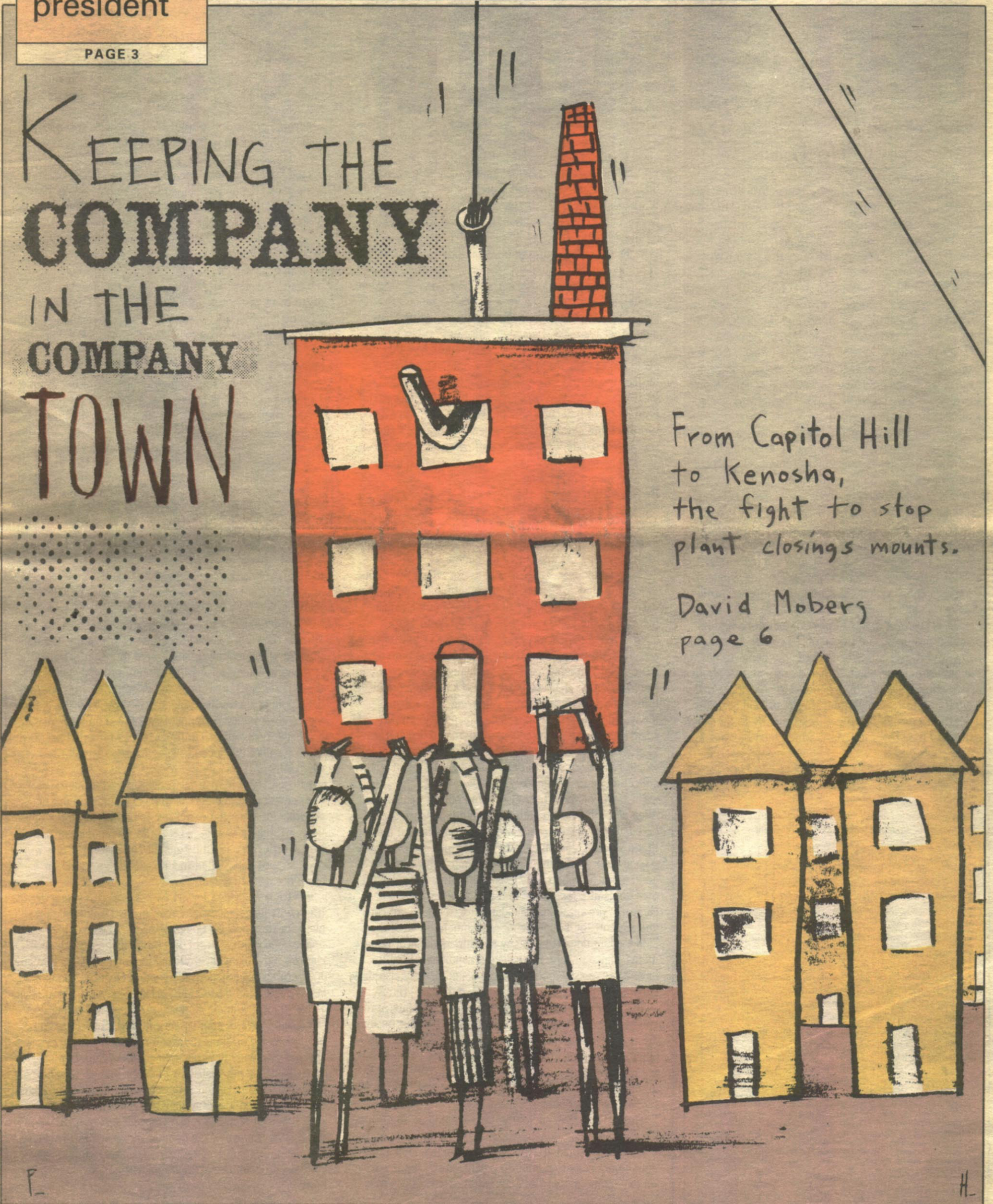
IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 12, NO. 24

MAY 11-17, 1988

\$1.25

KEEPING THE COMPANY IN THE COMPANY TOWN



From Capitol Hill
to Kenosha,
the fight to stop
plant closings mounts.

David Moberg
page 6

What 'Early Money Is Like Yeast' means



Candidates from left to right: Jolene Unsoeld, Lana Pollack, Faye Williams, Ruthe Ridder and Martha Ezzard

By Kathryn Phillips

LOS ANGELES

Six years ago a group of politically active Democratic women in Washington, D.C., decided to raise some money for a good cause. Excited about then-Missouri State Sen. Harriett Woods' decision to challenge Republican Sen. John Danforth, they began collecting dollars for Woods' campaign. After months of work, the women raised \$50,000, a small drop in a very large bucket. Too small, it turned out, to help a heavily out-spent Woods beat the incumbent.

After that defeat the women regrouped and decided there had to be a better way to raise money for Democratic women candidates. In 1985 they came up with a donor network that is an unusual and promising funding source for women running for office, and could become a prototype for other similar networks. The network, called EMILY's List—as in Early Money Is Like Yeast—expects to raise \$500,000 for women candidates this year from its 1,900 members, each of whom paid \$100 to join the network and pledged to send \$100 to candidates selected by its board.

Half a million dollars may not sound like much money, especially when you consider that it can take that much or more to wage a single congressional campaign. However, for groups specifically organized to help fund women's campaigns, a \$500,000 fund is a milestone. And at least one other women's organization, the Women's Campaign Fund, a political action committee, expects to dole out a similar amount this year.

EMILY, however, plans to pack more punch into its giving. It has decided to focus on 10 congressional candidates, and it uses a practice called "bundling" to deal out the money in larger chunks than a conventional political action committee would be allowed to contribute under federal law. Instead of writing checks to EMILY, the organization's members write checks directly to the candidates, but mail them to EMILY, which then bundles the

checks and sends them on to the candidates.

Bundling wasn't an original EMILY idea. It is used by other organizations, including the Council for a Liveable World. But EMILY targets the candidates early and then begins collecting and bundling, as the campaign is getting off the ground.

In the "perverse world of political fund-raising," donors are more willing to give if a candidate has already raised significant money, said Rosemary Pooler, a congressional candidate in upstate New York who is on this year's EMILY list. That early money has more value than late money because, like a magnet, it draws in other funds.

EMILY's List President Ellen Malcom believes that the evolution of EMILY and high-dollar political action committees within the women's community signals the emergence of women as a financial player in politics. It probably also indicates how unlikely it will be to ever turn back the clock to a time when a candidate's success was less dependent on dollars and cents. Pragmatism about how to get women elected has overtaken idealism about campaign spending.

Beyond two cents: This year EMILY is targetting congressional races because in the last 15 years the number of Democratic women in the House has declined from 14 to 12. Malcolm, a Washington, D.C.-area real estate investor, credits the decline partly to money.

"The Democratic Party usually doesn't have two cents to rub together," she said. Meanwhile, the Republican Party has seen the number of its women in the House increase in the last 15 years from just two to 11.

After a night spent worrying about how to put together and fund a nearly \$500,000 campaign, there is nothing quite as encouraging as being awakened at 7 a.m. by a Federal Express delivery person with a package of checks from EMILY's List, said Cathy Allen, campaign manager for Washington state Rep. Jolene Unsoeld. So far, Unsoeld's campaign has received more than \$16,000 from EMILY's List. That's \$6,000 more than a conventional PAC would have been able to donate. And EMILY's List is still collecting funds for Unsoeld.

Unsoeld got something else from EMILY's List as well, Allen said. She gained added credibility because the list carefully screens its candidates, investing only in those that a steering committee, led by Malcolm, believes have a good shot at winning. Candidates must show that a good political opportunity exists, that they can raise their own funds at a local level and that they have a viable campaign organization. Candidates also must be pro-choice and support the Equal Rights Amendment. Beyond that, EMILY's List doesn't have any specific ideological requirements, Malcolm said. But selected candidates tend to have a progressive political agenda, and usually also draw support from environmental, peace and labor groups.

This year's list featured eight candidates by late April and Malcolm expects it to reach at least 10. Four on the current list are running in open seats and four are challenging Republican incumbents. Most of the candidates are also receiving money and advice from other women's groups, such as the Women's Campaign Fund and the National Women's Political Caucus.

This list of 1988 candidates, who are liberal on most issues, includes:

- Jolene Unsoeld, who moved into politics after years of community activity related to campaign reform, is strong on environmental and education issues and hopes to win

the Democratic nomination for an open congressional seat in the 3rd District in southwest Washington where lumber is a major industry and trade issues are important. She faces a tough primary race, but has a reputation for integrity and an unblemished record.

- Anna Eshoo, a San Mateo County supervisor in Northern California, is expected to win the Democratic nomination in June to challenge Rep. Ernest Konnyu. Konnyu is generally regarded even by fellow Republicans as too conservative for his moderate district, which includes the high-tech Silicon Valley. Eshoo had raised about \$235,000 by the first quarter of this year, high for a challenger yet only about one-fourth of what she will probably need by November to beat the Republicans. The first round of funding from EMILY's List brought her campaign about \$22,000.

- Lana Pollack, a two-term Michigan state senator, has also been included on the AFL-CIO's COPE short list of candidates worth backing. If she wins the primary as expected Pollack will challenge Rep. Carl D. Pursell, a six-term House Republican. Pursell's views have lately been shifting farther to the right, and Pollack senses a dramatic drop in support for him in a district that includes Ann Arbor and Plymouth. EMILY's List has so far provided her with about \$12,000 of the \$750,000 she believes she will need to beat Pursell.

- Faye Williams, a Louisiana lawyer and teacher, missed beating 8th District Republican Rep. Clyde Holloway in 1986 by less than 2 percent after Holloway at the last minute cited Williams' experience as a crime victim, implying that she was unsuited for office. Williams is the only pro-choice candidate running for the Democratic nomination, and already two men expecting to face her in the October 1 primary are making noises that suggest they plan to use her abortion stance against her. In 1986 she beat three

INSIDE STORY

men in the primary in the mostly black or cajun district. So far EMILY's List has provided her campaign with more than \$25,000.

- Ruthe Ridder, a former Washington state senator and current county assessor in Seattle's King County, is running for an open congressional seat in a solidly Democratic district. Whoever wins the primary probably will win the general election. Primary competition is stiff, but Ridder's polling shows that voters who know who she is prefer her over the competition. Her job will be to increase her name recognition. EMILY's List has provided her with \$17,000 so far. By November she figures she will need \$400,000.

- Rosemary Pooler, a law professor and former Syracuse city council member who has been in and out of government since the early '70s, is running against Republican incumbent George Wortley. In 1986 Pooler nearly beat Wortley, who is still considered vulnerable. She will need at least \$600,000 in this race. EMILY's list so far has given her about \$22,000.

- Patricia Madrid, a former New Mexico presiding district court judge, faces nine men in the Democratic primary for the open 1st Congressional District seat. In the polls she is running in the top three. If she wins in June, she will most likely face retiring incumbent Manuel Lujan Jr.'s brother, Ed Lujan, in the general election. She is a very recent addition to EMILY's List. She will need at least \$450,000 for a winning campaign through November.

- Martha Ezzard, another recent EMILY's List addition, is a former Colorado state senator. If she wins the primary she will challenge Republican incumbent Rep. Dan Schaefer in the 6th District, which is made up of suburbs surrounding Denver and generally votes Republican. Thus Ezzard will need lots of money and energy.

In 1986 half of EMILY's List won. This year, if half of the candidates win again, the number of women in the House will rise to 27. But despite their successes, women will continue to comprise a small minority of the 435-member body.

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(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1988 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 12, No. 24) published May 11, 1988, for newsstand sales May 11-17, 1988.

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON, DC

ALTHOUGH THE JOB OF VICE PRESIDENT has changed little over the last 50 years, the choice of a vice presidential running mate has become increasingly important. Vice presidential choices can dictate campaign strategy, and the vice presidency—once a dumping ground for fading politicians—has become the path to party leadership.

These considerations alone would make Gov. Michael Dukakis' vice presidential choice highly significant. But additional factors lend weight to his choice. The 1988 election looks like it will be a close one—more similar to 1960, 1968 and 1976 than to 1972 and 1984—that could turn on the vice-presidential choice.

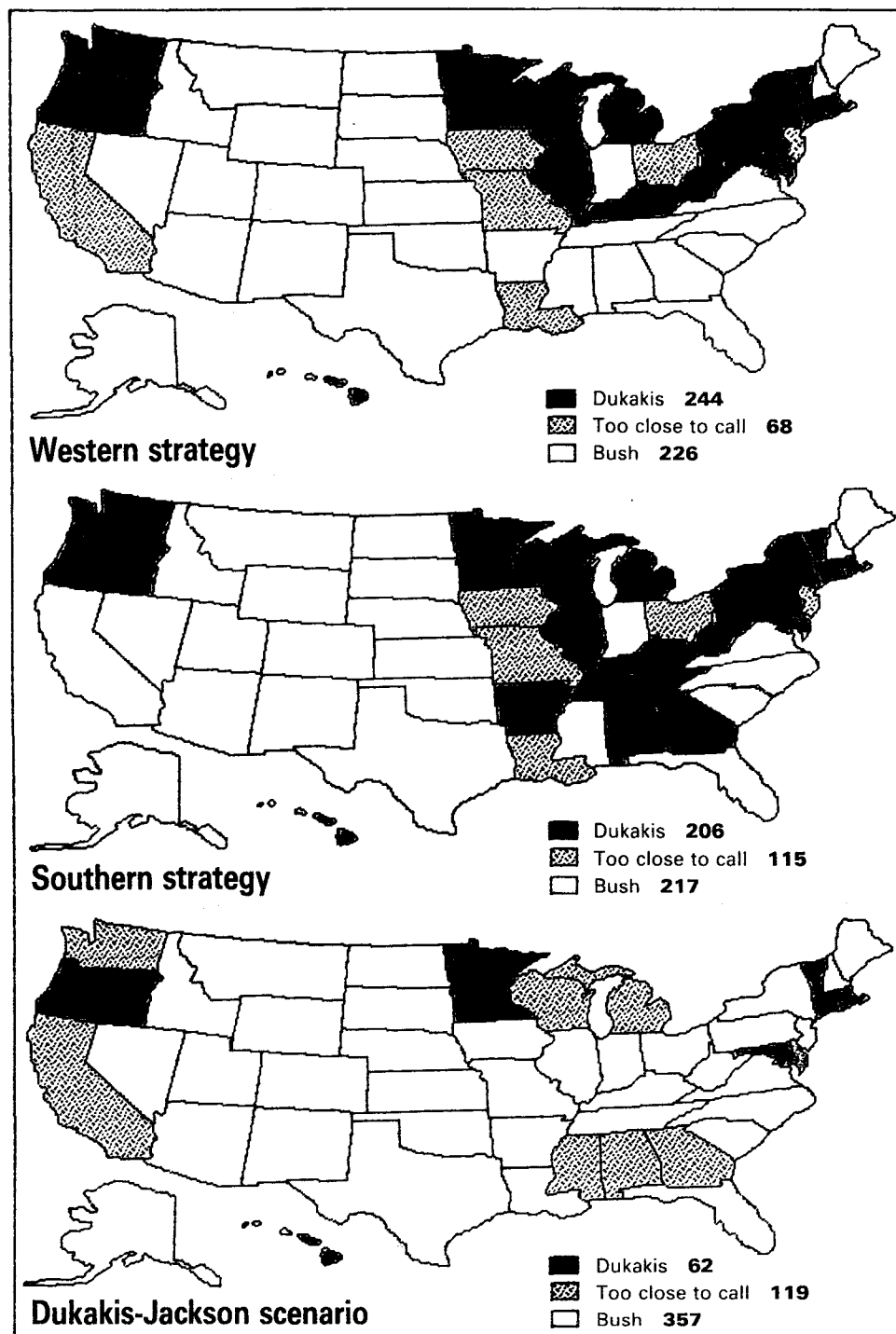
Even more important, that choice will not only affect the party's chances in 1988 but also shape its political direction into the next century. In current discussions among party leaders, the vice-presidential choice is being tied to the following, long-term Democratic strategies.

• **The Western strategy:** According to this scenario, Dukakis would choose a vice presidential nominee from the Midwest or Pacific Coast. Washington Rep. Tom Foley and Ohio Sen. John Glenn are currently under consideration. Dukakis would give priority to campaigning in the East and Midwest and to issues that appeal to voters there. The Democrats would try to create a national majority that more or less mirrors the Republican majority that William McKinley established in 1896. It would stretch from New England to the Pacific Northwest, with the exception of the Rocky Mountain States, and would unite the "new-collar" cosmopolitan, environmentally oriented voters of New England and the Pacific Northwest with blue- and white-collar workers of the industrial East and Midwest. The Democrats would cede the South and the Rocky Mountain states to the Republicans.

The key to the Western strategy is winning California's 47 electoral votes. If Dukakis wins California as well as those Western and Northern states that Reagan lost in 1980 or in which, because of John Anderson's third-party ticket, he got less than 50 percent of the vote, Dukakis would have 253 out of the 270 electoral votes needed to win (see accompanying story). He could go over the top by winning Ohio (23 electoral votes), which would be a sure thing if Glenn is on the ticket, or some combination of New Jersey (16), Missouri (11) and Iowa (8). But if Dukakis won these states and lost California, he would fall short of George Bush.

• **The Southern strategy:** The Democrats would try to reconstitute the New Deal coalition that elected Franklin Roosevelt in 1932 and, most recently, Jimmy Carter in 1976. Dukakis would choose a Southerner for vice president. Names currently under discussion are Georgia Sen. Sam Nunn, Florida Sen. Robert Graham, Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen and Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore. The Democrats would moderate their stands on foreign policy, defense and social issues, and instead focus on trade and jobs—issues that could unite the industrial South and Midwest. With Dukakis heading the ticket, they would also win votes in New England and the Pacific Northwest. But the Democrats would concentrate on keeping the South and the Midwest in the Democratic fold.

The Democrats search for a ticket to the White House



If Dukakis won the Northern and Western states where Ronald Reagan got less than a majority in 1980, as well as the Southern states of Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas and Tennessee, his tally would stand at 244 electoral votes, without winning California, Texas or Florida. He would then have to capture some combination of Missouri, Iowa, New

Jersey or Ohio to defeat Bush. And if he were to win California, Texas or Florida, victory would be virtually assured.

• **The Jackson scenario:** Most Democratic officials and Dukakis advisers have indicated that they don't think the Rev. Jesse Jackson would be a good vice-presidential choice. But some of Jackson's backers are

pressing the proposal. They believe that if Jackson does extremely well in the California primary, party leaders may be forced to consider a Dukakis-Jackson ticket. According to the Jackson scenario, Dukakis and Jackson would try to carve out a majority among small farmers, organized labor and blacks, Hispanics and liberal whites. With Jackson's help, the ticket would attract new voters to make up for the voters alienated by Jackson's presence on the ticket. Jackson's backers believe that a Dukakis-Jackson ticket could draw from both the Western and the Southern strategies, winning most Northern and Pacific states and carrying several Southern states, including Florida, Georgia and Alabama.

But most party regulars maintain that these projections are extremely optimistic. Even among Democratic primary voters—the most loyal of Democrats—Jackson encountered a strong backlash vote in the South and in New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania and other major Northern states. In the Ohio primary last week, five of six Dukakis voters didn't want Jackson as his running mate. In

CAMPAIGN 88

a close election, Jackson could cost Dukakis votes among both Democrats and independents.

A Dukakis-Jackson ticket could count on winning only the New England states loyal to Dukakis, as well as Maryland, the District of Columbia and the most socially liberal states like Minnesota and Oregon.

The Nunn story: Dukakis will not consider Jackson for the vice presidency unless Jackson forces him to. Rather, Dukakis and other national Democrats will choose among the less controversial representatives of the Southern and Western strategies. Of the two, the Southern would be preferable—if a satisfactory running mate was recruited.

Even without a Western running mate, Dukakis' "good government" liberalism already has considerable appeal in the far West; he has consistently run ahead of other Democrats and Bush in Mervyn Field's highly respected California poll. A Southern running mate could help Dukakis win several Deep South states like Georgia, border states like Missouri and states like Illinois and Ohio that have many Southern immigrants.

His choice of a Southerner would also assure Democrats of winning several additional Senate and House seats. Southern Democrats are far more sensitive to political symbolism than Western Democrats; and there are several close congressional races in Virginia, the Carolinas, Louisiana and Mississippi, whose outcome may depend upon whether Southern Democrats feel part of the national party.

There is, however, a more important consideration. In the early part of the century, the geographical divisions between the parties, with the Republicans dominating the North and the Democrats the South, reinforced the racist exclusion of blacks from Southern political life. If in 1988 the Democrats surrendered the South to the Republicans, blacks would not be disenfranchised, but they would be marginalized, and the

Unlocking the "lock" theory

Ronald Reagan's 1984 landslide victory reinforced prevailing opinion that the Republicans had a "lock" on the electoral college. The Republicans had won 23 states five straight times, while in the last five elections the only electoral votes the Democrats had regularly won were the District of Columbia's. But as Stuart Rothenberg argues in the March/April *Public Opinion*, the "lock" theory relies too much on incumbent landslides in 1972 and 1984 and ignores the peculiar circumstances of Reagan's 1980 landslide.

That year Reagan won an electoral landslide of 489 to 49, but won only 50.7 percent of the vote. Former Republican Rep. John Anderson won 6.6 percent of

the vote, and provided Carter's margin of defeat in 19 states. If Carter and Anderson's totals were combined they would have outpolled Reagan in 22 states and captured 213 electoral votes.

In 1980 Reagan would still have picked up part of Anderson's vote, but the statistic is highly relevant to the 1988 election. Because Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis has some of the same technocratic, good-government appeal that Anderson did, he would likely attract some of Anderson's 1980 vote. It is therefore more accurate to use the Carter-Anderson candidacy in 1980 than the Mondale candidacy in 1984 as a measure of Democratic chances in 1988.

—J.B.J.

By Joel Bleifuss

Body-count accounting

Could it be that U.S. officials are playing a numbers game with the figures for U.S. fatalities in Central America? While in Honduras last year, Jerry Genesio, of the Portland, Maine-based Veterans for Peace, asked two U.S. Embassy officials and one senior U.S. military officer how many U.S. soldiers had died in that country. The embassy officials said that they could recall four deaths. The officer said he knew of at least four. Sensing a dearth of frankness, Genesio returned to the U.S. and filed a Freedom of Information Act request with the Defense Department. Eventually the National Guard, Army, Air Force and Navy released their body counts. Adding the more recent media reports of U.S. casualties, Genesio determined that 68 soldiers have died in Central America since Jan. 1, 1984. Forty, not four, of those deaths occurred in Honduras. That total is undoubtedly low. The Marine Corps failed to provide any figures, despite orders to do so from the Defense Department. According to the Marines, "The information requested is not available since records of decedents are maintained by name, not by location of death."

The Linder autopsy goes to court

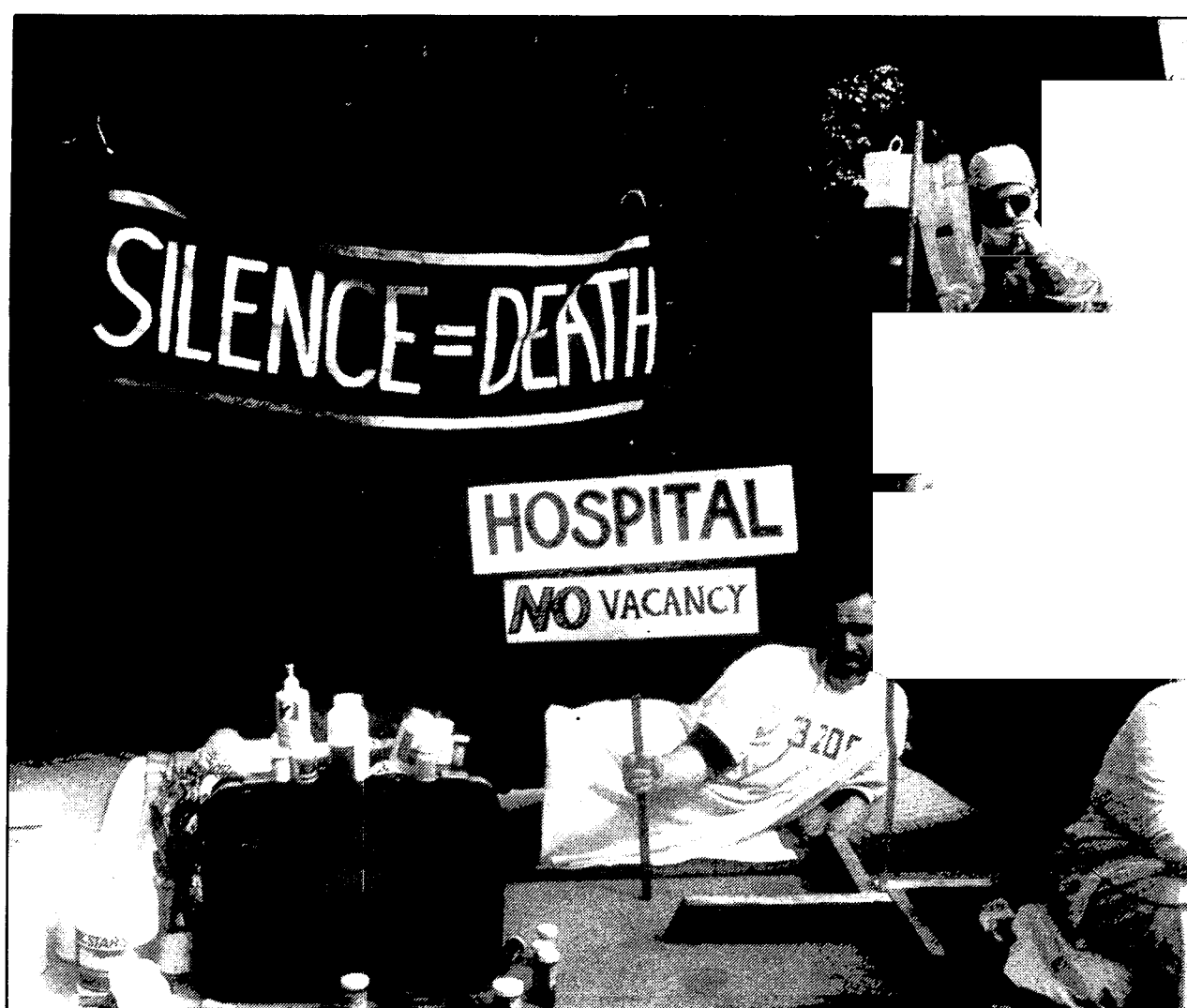
Last spring, Ben Linder and two Nicaraguans were killed by the contras as they were building a small dam near the northern Nicaraguan town of San Jose de Bocay. The contras claimed that the 27-year-old American was caught in cross fire. And Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Elliott Abrams told a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee that as far as he knew, "Linder was in the middle of a group of armed men, which would be a legitimate target." But according to the Nicaraguan government, the autopsy revealed that after being brought to the ground with shots to his legs and left arm, Linder was stabbed 30 to 40 times in the face with a sharp-pointed instrument and then shot in the temple at point-blank range. Earlier this year the New York-based Center for Constitutional Rights discovered, through a Freedom of Information Act request, that the State Department had investigated the Nicaraguan autopsy and found it valid. Those declassified State Department memos will be among the evidence offered by the Linder family and the Center for Constitutional Rights in a \$50 million law suit against the contra leadership. The suit was filed on April 28, the first anniversary of Linder's death.

Licensed to bribe

An unknown number of U.S. corporations are able to bribe foreign officials with impunity. The names of these companies are known to only a few CIA officials. Stephen Kurkjian and John Kelly of the *Boston Globe* recently unearthed a memo from a 1984 congressional investigation of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA). The memo reads, "[CIA General Counsel Stanley] Sporkin confirms that there is a whole series of companies registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) that are exempt from the reporting requirements of the FCPA because they are covers for the CIA. Sporkin claims these exemptions are provided for by the FCPA legislation." The unidentified congressional investigator continues, "How does the SEC assure that there are no abuses by companies with these exemptions—is it a license to bribe?" (Before becoming CIA general counsel, Sporkin was head of the SEC's Enforcement Division. He is now a Reagan-appointed U.S. District Court Judge for the District of Columbia.) Under the FCPA exemption, "the head of any federal department or agency responsible for [national security] matters" may exempt "any person acting in cooperation" with a federal agency from the provisions of the act. According to *Corporate Crime Reporter*, journalist Kelly says that "congressional investigators currently believe that the CIA's power to allow payments to foreign officials might explain why [Edwin Meese's friend] E. Bob Wallach sought and obtained then-CIA Director William Casey's approval for protection payments to Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres for the Iraqi pipeline to be built by Bechtel."

Child labor

What do Federal Reserve Board members Martha Seger's beating heart and a pile of cash have in common? Both are cold and hard. Seger recently told a small business group that congressional plans to raise the \$3.35 minimum wage should be abandoned. A higher wage would only increase youth unemployment, she said. "A lot of them aren't worth \$3.35 an hour; they don't know anything. Maybe they're worth two bucks."



Curfew in the Occupied Territories: another policy failure

WEST BANK, OCCUPIED TERRITORIES—It is just before sunset and the Jalazon Refugee Camp is quiet. The streets of the normally bustling camp six miles from downtown Ramallah are empty, its 5,000 residents nowhere to be seen.

As darkness comes, Jalazon, perched on the sides of a steep mountain pass, disappears into the mountainside. Electricity at the camp has been cut off since at least April 1.

Jalazon, like many of the refugee camps, villages and cities in the West Bank and Gaza, is under curfew. As of Land Day, March 30, all of Gaza's 650,000 Palestinian residents were under complete curfew, as were many villages and camps in the West Bank. Although since then some curfews have been lifted, according to the *Jerusalem Post* more than 400,000 Palestinians were still under curfew in late April when Israel celebrated its 40th anniversary.

The Israeli Defense Force (IDF) has used curfews to quell disturbances since 1967, but in the last five months of the *Intifadah* (the Arabs' name for the uprising), curfews have been used with a vengeance. At the beginning of the uprising Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, speaking on Israeli television, promised that "there will be curfews in the refugee camps and in every place where order is disrupted."

Month-long curfews have been

used to punish villages, camps and cities where demonstrations have been frequent and where stone-throwers are thought to have been given refuge from IDF troops. Hardest hit have been villages that have acted against suspected collaborators or spies.

"We are using collective punishment because in a way it is a collective uprising—all the population is participating," says Haim Ramon, a Labor Party Knesset member. "I'm not justifying everything. I'm sure that here and there some measures that were taken were wrong. But this is the nature of war; this is the nature of violence."

Under curfew, normal life is impossible. No one is allowed to leave their home or their community. But other than that basic principle, the rules governing individual curfews are arbitrary and occasionally malicious. Water and electricity can be shut off. Municipal services stop functioning. At times sewage overflows into the streets. Medical care is delayed, restricted and sometimes simply refused. Food supplies are often the first thing cut. Severe food shortages, especially in the poorer Gaza Strip, have been reported by United Nations officials.

Camp refugees charge that the IDF uses the curfew to terrorize the population. Houses built without proper permits are demolished. The local *shabab*, politically active youth, are rounded up for questioning and/or administrative detention. Nor has the curfew stopped indiscriminate use of tear gas, beatings and shootings.

"The soldiers shoot when they see anything," says Salweh, a 24-

year-old mother of four from Jalazon who escaped from the camp after more than three weeks under curfew. "Always we are looking out the windows for the soldiers. Always we are afraid."

As arbitrarily as they are imposed, the curfews are occasionally lifted. In Al Am'ari Refugee Camp the curfew is lifted one hour each day, but the IDF lifts it in the early morning hours, forcing the camp's 5,000 people to get up at 4:00 a.m. to take advantage of their hour of freedom. In Jalazon the curfew is lifted only once every four or five days.

Raja Shehadeh of Al Haq, a human rights groups based in Ramallah, says the Israelis use the curfews "to exhaust the population so that they will be too tired to continue with the uprising."

But that strategy may have already backfired. Even though at times half the Palestinians in the Gaza and West Bank have been under what is essentially house arrest, the Israelis have found the restoration of order an illusive goal. As with many Israeli policies—beatings, use of live ammunition, house demolitions, deportations, administrative detentions and other forms of collective punishment—the curfews have hardened the resolve of the Palestinians.

Many Israelis are beginning to realize that their measures are failing, but the question of what to do to quiet an uprising that shows few signs of waning has no easy answers. A final decision will probably have to wait until after Israel's November election. But the harsh measures of the last five months have made coexistence more dif-



Breaking the silence: On May 1 a mock hospital was set up in front of Michael Dukakis' Massachusetts home to protest what demonstrators say is the governor's inadequate response to the AIDS crisis. On the night of April 29, AIDS activists in New York took their message to gay and lesbian bar-goers with an "ACT UP, Make Out" kiss-in on Sixth Avenue. These were two of many actions organized in about 35 cities during the nationwide "Spring AIDS Action '88." The April 29 to May 7 protests were coordinated by the San Francisco-based ACTNOW (AIDS Coalition to Network, Organize and Win), an umbrella group that grew out of a meeting at last October's National Lesbian and Gay March on Washington. Each of the 60 or so local organizations that affiliate with ACTNOW addressed the issues most relevant to them. Coalition spokesman Terry Beswick says the overall purpose of the demonstrations was "to force AIDS issues into the national awareness even more than it has been."

difficult. The days of quiet occupation are a thing of the past.

"It comes to such a point that

you're so angry at the Israelis," says Shehadeh. "I mean, how can [they] possibly think we can live together

when [they] are treating us as less than human beings?"

—Ellen Hosmer

Christic Institute releases a new document

The Christic Institute, the group suing 29 contragate figures, has lost a court battle but won an intellectual victory.

The liberal non-profit law center is suing Richard Secord, Theodore Shackley, John Singlaub and other covert operatives for their alleged participation in the bombing of disaffected contra leader Eden Pastora. The lawsuit attempts to prove that the defendants' other illegal activities—carried out during three decades of official and unofficial covert actions—constitute an organized criminal conspiracy.

But last month Judge James King, who is hearing the case in Miami, restricted the Christic Institute to taking testimony and subpoenaing witnesses only about the Pastora bombing and contra support activity. He upheld his ruling that the evidence of earlier crimes was insufficient to expand the discovery process.

In an attempt to persuade the judge, the Institute released a 300-page document in support of its charges against the group it calls "the Enterprise." This document replaces a December 1986 affidavit filed by Christic attorney Daniel Sheehan as the most complete account of the Institute's charges.

The new version provides documentation and corrects errors that plagued the Sheehan affidavit.

While the old affidavit relied on the sometimes fallible memories of unnamed informants, the new document has more than 1,000 footnotes showing how these conspiracy charges are supported by public information. Many of the document's sources are mainstream journalists. The document also includes information uncovered by last summer's Iran-contra hearings, as well as the Institute's own interviews with witnesses the Iran-contra committee overlooked.

Although this new document failed in its legal purpose, it serves as a catalog of most of the underexamined issues of the Iran-contra scandal. Among the important charges are the following:

- During the Vietnam War, the Enterprise cornered the opium market in Laos by conducting bombing raids against competitors. It then set up a major heroin factory using a Pepsi-Cola bottling plant as a front. The Enterprise used its connections to the Miami syndicate, which had worked with Enterprise figures in plots to assassinate Fidel Castro, to distribute the heroin in the U.S.

- Former intelligence officer Edwin Wilson, now imprisoned for selling arms to Libya, claims to have gathered information on Libya's Muammar Khadafy for the Enterprise. While Wilson's testimony to the Institute may have been self-serving, Enterprise figures continued working with Wilson years after he was linked to Libya.

- William Buckley, the CIA station chief in Lebanon whose 1984 kidnapp-

ing spurred the Reagan administration to negotiate with Iran, had ties to several Enterprise associates. This connection may explain why Theodore Shackley, former deputy director of the CIA and reportedly a key figure in the Enterprise, first proposed that the administration trade arms for hostages.

- The Enterprise continues to have a network of front companies, nicknamed "the Fish Farm," that functions as an assassin-for-hire service.

All of the problems of the Sheehan affidavit are not corrected by the new document. Some important allegations are still attributed to unnamed sources, while other assertions are questionable. Shackley, for example, is given personal credit for the CIA's overthrow of the Allende government in Chile, and FBI Assistant Director Oliver Revell is incorrectly described as Attorney General Edwin Meese's deputy. These lapses are the exception, however, and not part of a pattern of errors as in the earlier affidavit.

While the document's argument is credible, much of the evidence is unlikely to stand up in court. Wilson, a major source in the document, is anything but a credible witness, and other testimony is in many cases based on inadmissible hearsay. Judge King's ruling, which is being appealed, makes it harder for the Institute to produce hard evidence. If it hopes to win a legal and not just a moral victory, it faces an uphill battle in court.

—Jim Naureckas

Right-wing bias at PBS

The liberal New York-based media watch group Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) is gearing up for a campaign to put the "public" back in public television. The most recent issue of the group's newsletter, *Extra!*, points out that two of the editors of the right-wing *National Review*, William F. Buckley Jr. and John McLaughlin, host three weekly Public Broadcasting System (PBS) programs. Left and liberal commentators are granted no such air time. Further, the world view of corporate America (and PBS' corporate sponsors) is fully aired by PBS programs like *Wall Street Week*, *Adam Smith's Money World* and the *Nightly Business Report*. There is not one corresponding program that represents the public-interest community. The two PBS news shows hosted by centrists, the *MacNeil Lehrer NewsHour* and *Washington Week in Review*, present opinions that generally range from moderate to conservative. A Conservative Political Action Conference membership survey recently ranked *MacNeil Lehrer* as the "Most Balanced Network News Show." FAIR spokesmen say it would help if viewers, especially those who subscribe to public TV, voice their concerns to their local PBS affiliate, as well as PBS President Bruce Christensen, 1320 Braddock Place, Alexandria, VA 22314.

Minus hooded robes

Joe Clark, the Patterson (New Jersey) High School principal who recently made it to the cover of *Time* with his trademark baseball bat in hand, seems intent on promoting himself as a rising star of the ghetto's right wing (see *In These Times*, Feb. 3). Daniel Lazare reports that in an April 26 speech in Honolulu before 1,500 members of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, Clark proclaimed himself "HNC—head nigger in charge." He called for public executions of drug dealers "live at five" and urged ghetto residents to "get some two-by-fours and go out there and beat the hell out of [pushers]." At a press conference afterward he suggested that more extreme measures might be needed. "What I see happening to kids on crack...lives being destroyed, yeah, I've reached the point where I think a few lynchings might be in order," Clark continued. "Why do you think [Bernhard] Goetz was so popular? Do you know what I would have done if they had attacked me on the subway? I would have shot them, too. I would have shot them until I didn't have a bullet left." Clark also called for the sterilization of welfare mothers who persist in having babies. In his speech, he praised President Reagan for "tak[ing] the handout away from black people and mak[ing] us work for ourselves." According to reporters on the scene, the overwhelmingly white male audience applauded enthusiastically.

Avoid indictment

Why shred when you can disintegrate? That is the theme of Security Engineered Machinery, the Westboro, Mass., manufacturer of the "Security Disintegrator." As a company brochure explains, "A Security Disintegrator destroys and compacts all confidential material. A shredder doesn't. A congressional committee gained valuable evidence simply by piecing together shredded documents.... This would have been impossible had the material been destroyed by the Security Disintegrator.... There's simply no way to reconstruct original documents. That's why the Security Disintegrator is approved by the Department of Defense for the destruction of classified material." Company President Len Rosen told *In These Times* that business is "terrific"; even the White House uses one of his disintegrators. Said Rosen, "Our systems take documents, even books six-inches thick, and reduce them to confetti."

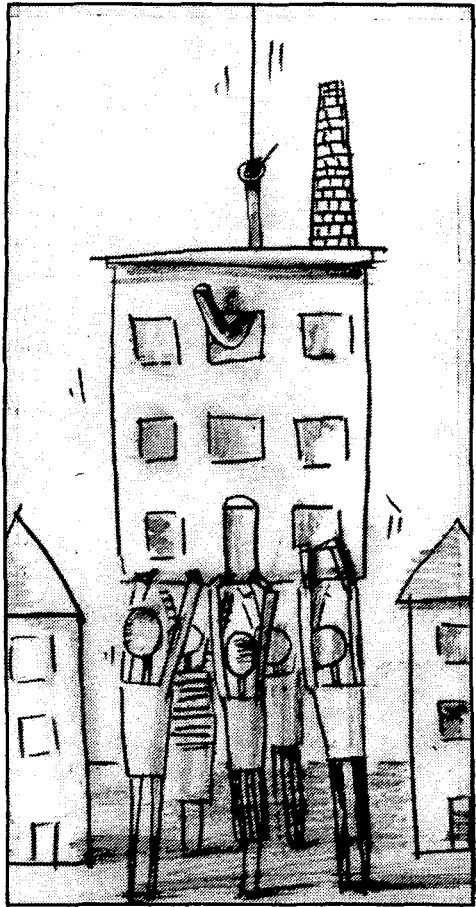
We hope it's true

Fawn Hall was reportedly "crushed" after being spurned by Bruce Springsteen. According to the "ever-reliable" *National Enquirer*, during a recent concert Hall sent the Boss a note saying that she would like to meet him. He is said to have written back: "Forget it.... I don't like Oliver North.... I don't approve of the things you did.... I have nothing to say to you!"

Nuclear-free Chicago

Last year the Chicago City Council unanimously passed an ordinance declaring the city a nuclear-free zone. Two dozen billboards have now been erected at the Chicago city limits to let the world know that the Second City is—if not the first—the largest nuclear-free zone in the nation.

Keeping the company in the company town



By David Moberg

AFTER MORE THAN A DECADE OF GRASS-roots crusading, legislation to require employers to give advance warning of plant shutdowns and major layoffs has finally won strong congressional approval. During the years that the moral and social good sense grew strong enough in Congress to pass the measure, millions of workers abruptly lost their jobs and hundreds of communities were crippled.

But President Reagan's hard-line rejection of the mild requirement for big employers to notify plant-closing victims 60 days before termination will likely doom both advance notice and the weak-kneed trade bill to which it was attached.

But his veto may prove a boon to Democrats, who can now run against Republicans on the popular idea of advance warning, even though Democratic congressional leaders nearly scuttled the provision. Democratic presidential front-runner Michael Dukakis and especially Jesse Jackson have already made advance notice of plant closings key campaign issues.

Even conservative politicians are joining unions and community organizations in local battles against plant closings nationwide. In several cases, local governments are suing companies threatening shutdowns for breach of contract or for violating the terms under which they received public assistance.

Big business lobbyists have urged Reagan to hold fast against plant-closing notice, not so much because the bill's terms were onerous, but because they saw it as a symbolic shift toward a "Europeanization" or social-democratic regulation of labor relations and the economy. Reagan told the U.S. Chamber of Commerce that advance notice was the proper subject for collective bargaining, not federal legislation—a rankly hypocritical observation from a president who has done his best to sabotage collective bargaining and

weaken the labor movement.

The advance-notice requirement was mainly symbolic to those fighting the wave of shutdowns, which often hit economically viable plants as companies merge, flee unions, shift capital overseas or succumb to bad management. The legislation would impose few costs on employers. Advance notice, however, is likely to save each dislo-

LABOR

cated worker from \$4,500 to \$15,000 in long-term earnings, according to a National Academy of Sciences study.

The two-month advance warning would give workers, unions and communities a brief opportunity to find alternative proprietorship or negotiate better terms for aiding displaced workers and the community. Groups fighting plant closings want the legislation strengthened to require employer consultation with workers and the community during the advance-notice period, but that provision was dropped from the bill.

The luck of the Democrats: Ironically, many unions had originally opposed the idea of adding plant-closing legislation to the bill. But the final package eliminated the tough trade measures labor wanted, leaving the advance-notice requirement as the only thing the unions could cheer. Although Democratic leaders feared a veto, they insisted that the requirement stay in the bill. Even then, Democratic congressional leaders at the last moment trooped off to the White House, offering to drop the notice provision if Reagan would promise not to veto the bill.

The White House offered no such promise, which was lucky for the Democrats. If their leaders had succeeded in dropping advance notice, they would have produced a do-little trade bill with strong Republican support and a deeply divided Democratic vote. Republicans would have thus stolen the issue from the Democrats. And Democrats would have surrendered any claim to support advance notice.

The last time it was considered as a separate measure advance notice failed even in the heavily Democratic House. It passed now as a trade bill amendment only because Southern conservatives responded to lobbying from the textile and oil industries, which sought repeal of the bill's windfall profits tax.

Conservatives are now hoping that the Democrats will produce yet another trade bill without the plant-closing notice. Its strategists think an override of Reagan's veto is possible. The bill was passed in the Senate by a margin three votes shy of the two-thirds needed to overturn a veto.

Regardless of what happens on Capitol Hill, a growing network of community groups, often working with unions and religious coalitions, will continue the fight against plant closings. The groups' strategies are becoming more sophisticated—although clear-cut victories are rare.

One such triumph was at the Morse Cutting Tool firm in New Bedford, Mass., where a broad labor-community coalition attacked the plant's closing, provided alternative economic analyses and ultimately spurred

the city to threaten to exercise eminent domain to take over the plant.

Increasingly, such groups are joined by public officials in considering aggressive action to stop closings or force negotiations. Last summer the Newell Company executed a hostile takeover of Anchor Hocking. Within weeks the new owners moved to shut down Anchor Hocking's recently expanded glass-making plant, which employs 942 people in Clarksburg, W.Va. Republican Gov. Arch Moore met with Newell executives and thought he arrived at an understanding that they would keep the plant intact while he sought a buyer.

But when Newell began shipping out its equipment, the governor got a restraining order to stop removal of the equipment. The state attorney general filed a \$614 million lawsuit against Newell, claiming that the company defrauded the state and breached implicit contracts by depriving it of benefits from tax incentives, job-training funds and \$3.5 million in low-interest loans.

If the state wins the suit, it plans to take over the plant. Meanwhile, Moore is also attempting to set up another fund, using government and public pension money, to take over the plant and two other closed factories.

Moore used tough tactics, but now observers believe negotiations may end with little compensation to the community. Already the company has removed some critical equipment in exchange for \$1 million, and the state is appealing the judge's lifting of the injunction on removing more equipment. What looked like a promising and innovative challenge is now sputtering to an inauspicious finale. That is partly because the community of Clarksburg, especially the conservative Flint Glass Workers' Union local, never mobilized to stop the closing.

But the ideas raised by Moore's action may spread. Larry Harless, an attorney who has worked with the United Mine Workers and is a Democratic contender to challenge Moore this fall, pushes public initiative further. He is arguing that the state government use eminent domain to claim the state's natural resources, mainly coal, rather than see the wealth drained from the state.

The Kenosha example: Moore's action may also have encouraged Wisconsin Republican Gov. Tommy G. Thompson to threaten Chrysler with a lawsuit for breach of contract over the closing of the Kenosha assembly plant bought from American Motors last year. United Auto Workers Local 72 has already sued Chrysler—along with the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the City of Detroit—for illegally using federal funds to build a new plant in Michigan that contributed to the decision to close Kenosha.

The lawsuit charges that Chrysler failed to include in its environmental impact statement for its Michigan assembly plant the "adverse effects on the human environment in Kenosha proximately resulting from that project." The suit asks that HUD regulations and the environmental impact requirements be enforced to make Chrysler maintain its promised production in Detroit without hurting Kenosha.

Local 72 has mounted an aggressive cam-

paign (for example, billboards calling Lee Iacocca a liar) that has cut Chrysler sales in Wisconsin and exacted concessions from the company. By including the local in its current Chrysler contract talks, the union increased pressure on the company. Earlier this year the UAW forced Chrysler to retreat from its planned sale of its Acustar auto parts division with threats of local strikes. And Iacocca recently dropped plans for shifting "K" car production to Mexico and extended the Kenosha plant closing date from July to December.

Last week the union reached a closing agreement with Chrysler that extends benefits to laid-off workers and guarantees repayment, without interest, of the \$50 million Kenosha workers put into an AMC trust fund. When AMC workers agreed to concessions in the early '80s, unlike other autoworkers, they insisted the concessions were a loan eventually to be repaid to workers. If Kenosha workers ratify the new agreement, the local will drop all lawsuits.

In the Pittsburgh area, which has developed the nation's most sophisticated apparatus for challenging plant closings, the Steel Valley Authority now plans to purchase two modern but idled electric furnaces from the bankrupt LTV Corp. If the deal is struck, they will form a new company and add a new continuous caster to produce semi-finished steel for area mills. The Authority, formed by 10 Pittsburgh-area municipalities, would issue tax-exempt revenue bonds, set up an Employee Stock Ownership Plan and seek a partner with private capital to provide the needed \$250 million.

"We've moved more explicitly toward a larger public role as a direct intervenor," said Steel Valley Authority project director Robert Erickson. "The feeling here is if you're going to succeed, the public has to move toward a greater proportion of ownership."

Restricting private business isn't sufficient, he argued. Especially since public ownership is often directed at big business, Erickson said, it has proved no less popular in the Pittsburgh area than plant-closing restrictions. Small businesses may find public ownership more palatable, since they can benefit from the business but remain less regulated. For many years communities have given businesses tax breaks and other incentives, hoping to create or keep jobs. Now more communities are demanding that companies live up to those implied or explicit contracts.

The Duluth, Minn., city government, for example, is suing Triangle Corp. for shipping machinery out of its unionized Diamond Tool factory to a non-union plant in Orangeburg, S.C. In 1982 the city issued \$10 million in industrial revenue bonds for Triangle to buy Diamond and expand its 732-person workforce.

Devil's Triangle: But according to secret company documents obtained by the city, Triangle was planning, as early as June 1983, to send all its machinery to Orangeburg over the next three years and close the Duluth plant. Triangle's plans stalled as it sought a loophole in the loan agreement on removing the equipment. Yet employment has been cut in half as machinery has been removed.

This spring the city obtained a temporary restraining order blocking further equipment removal. Duluth wants to force Triangle to return removed equipment and

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Dalkon Shield haunts Latin American women

By Maggie Garb

LIKE THOUSANDS OF GUATEMALAN WOMEN in the early '70s, Clemencia Hernandez Canas visited a government family-planning clinic and was fitted with a Dalkon Shield intrauterine device. A newlywed, Canas and her husband had decided to wait a few years before starting a family. Doctors at the clinic told Canas that the Shield, the newest method of contraception distributed by U.S.-sponsored family-planning programs, was safe and effective.

But a few months after it was inserted, Canas began having severe cramps in her abdomen and lower back. Several months later she began hemorrhaging and was admitted to a hospital in Guatemala City. Despite the Shield, Canas had become pregnant and suffered a spontaneous septic abortion, most likely caused by a Dalkon Shield-related infection. Doctors found the Shield imbedded in the wall of her uterus.

It was only the beginning of Canas' medical problems. Over the next nine years she lived with chronic pain, and finally, in 1984, she had a hysterectomy. The infection, called pelvic inflammatory disease (PID), had never been properly treated and had spread throughout her reproductive organs.

Canas' story is among a dozen notarized statements collected by Martina Langley, a Texas-based lawyer and former health care worker. Langley represents approximately 100 Latin American women who are suing the Shield's manufacturer, the A.H. Robins Co. For the past five years she has travelled throughout Latin America, warning doctors, health-care workers and women about the Shield.

Nearly 15 years after it was withdrawn from the U.S. market, Langley says she found a few women still wearing the Shield, and many doctors and health-care workers unaware of the serious health problems as-

"There are probably hundreds of thousands of women who were seriously injured by the Dalkon Shield and will never get any remedy," says Michael Pretl, a claimant attorney.

sociated with the device. This situation persists, despite Robins' claim to have sponsored two worldwide publicity campaigns—one to recommend removal of the Shield, and a second to notify women injured by the device of their right to sue the company.

A contraceptive killer: First marketed in 1971, the Dalkon Shield was distributed in at least 80 countries worldwide. The flat, crab-like device was promoted as the product of "modern engineering" and "a safe alternative" to birth control pills. The Shield, Robins claimed, could last a lifetime.

Yet by 1974 researchers had discovered that the Shield contributed to PID, infertility and, in some cases, death. Injured women

began suing Robins, winning millions of dollars in damages.

That same year the FDA requested that the device be removed from the market, and Robins halted sales in the U.S. But doctors in Latin America continued to insert the Shields until the late '70s and reportedly the

BIRTH CONTROL

Shield was distributed in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala as recently as several years ago.

By October 1984, with 9,000 U.S. women suing Robins, it announced the first of its so-called international publicity campaigns—a worldwide recall of the Shield. In the U.S. the company sent "Dear Doctor" let-

ters to gynecologists and spent \$4 million on a multi-media blitz.

By contrast, Robins spent just \$.5 million for the recall program in the other 80 countries in which the Shield had been distributed. And, while in the U.S. Robins sponsored regular TV and radio ads urging women to have the Shield removed, in the rest of the world Robins held a total of 15 press conferences. It also sent press releases to major newspapers around the world. But it's likely that in Central America, where more than 50 percent of the population is illiterate, many women wearing the Shield were never informed.

The National Women's Health Network, a Washington, D.C.-based women's health advocacy group, says that as many as 500,000 Shields sold outside of the U.S. remain unaccounted for. And in 1986, two years after the recall began, officials from the Centers for Disease Control found 7,000 of the devices hidden in a warehouse in San Salvador.

No PR for the needy: While Robins spokesman Thomas R. Poe calls the recall program a "major public relations success,"

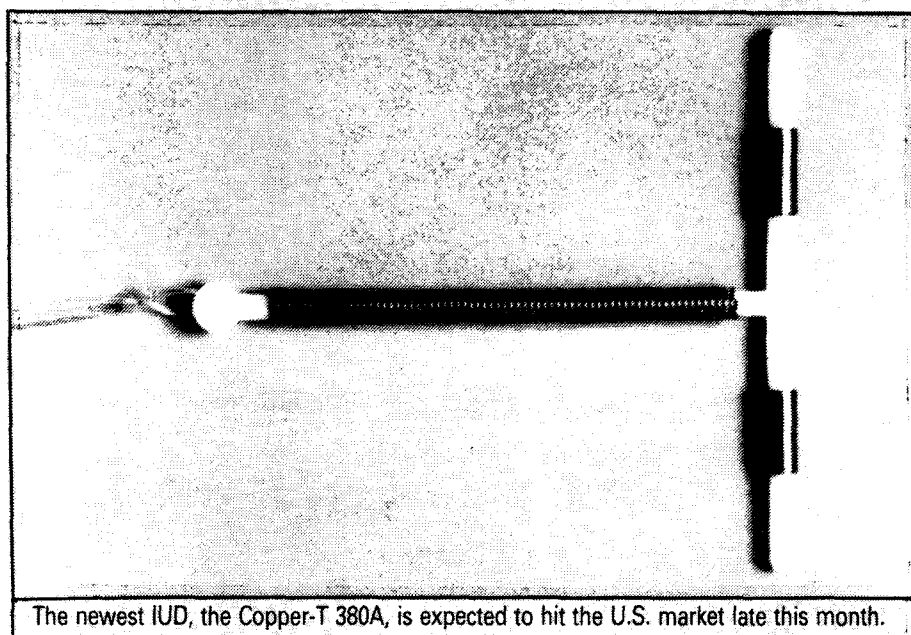
lawyers for the claimants disagree. Sybil Schainwald, a lawyer for several dozen Third World women and chairman of the National Women's Health Network, says that in some countries there was no information about the recall. "Particularly in poorer countries these women will continue to die and continue to have infections because they were never told of the health risks, and they don't have access to a decent health system. It's the responsibility of the company to recall a defective product, and they didn't do it."

In response to such accusations, Robins sent letters to top officials in 80 countries asking if they wanted Robins to sponsor media campaigns about the Shield. The only countries that responded were Australia, New Zealand and England. Several claimants' lawyers speculate that the Latin American governments turned down Robins' offer because they did not welcome any negative publicity about family planning.

Less than a year after the recall program was initiated Robins filed for bankruptcy, seeking protection from claimants and cred-

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The IUD is making a comeback in the U.S.



The newest IUD, the Copper-T 380A, is expected to hit the U.S. market late this month.

Following the Dalkon Shield disaster in the '70s, manufacturers of intrauterine devices pulled their uninsurable products from the U.S. market. Many companies, however, continued distributing IUDs abroad, and today more than 60 million women in 30 countries wear an IUD.

But now, with Federal Drug Administration (FDA) approval and what appears to be new litigation-proof packaging, the IUD may be making a comeback in the U.S. The Copper-T 380A, a T-shaped plastic device bound in copper, is expected to hit the U.S. market late this month. The Copper-T was developed by the Population Council, a non-profit family planning organization. It won FDA approval in 1984, but until this year the Population Council could not find a company willing to take on the risk of selling IUDs.

In the U.S. the Copper-T's only competitor will be the Progestasert, a plastic device that emits progesterone. It is the only IUD currently sold in the U.S.

Both of these devices, along with several dozen other types of IUDs, have been distributed outside the U.S. for nearly 20 years. The designs vary, but none uses the multifilament string blamed for most cases of pelvic inflammatory disease (PID) in Dalkon Shield wearers.

While family planning experts offer mixed reports on the safety of IUD use,

all agree that the newer designs pose fewer risks than the Dalkon Shield, and that for some women an IUD is the only option.

"In most places a woman's access to contraceptives is limited, so for many the availability of an IUD is very important," says Victoria Leonard, executive director of the National Women's Health Network, a Washington, D.C.-based women's health advocacy organization. "Compared to some of the other options, the Copper-T may be a good thing. And I say that reluctantly."

The promotional strategy for the Copper-T emphasizes what the Population Council calls "careful patient selection." The council's guidelines recommend the Copper-T IUD for women in a mutually monogamous relationship, who have already had one child and have no history of PID or related disorders. Leonard adds that a woman wearing an IUD should not plan on having any children. Women choosing the Copper-T will be asked to read and sign a form describing the risks of IUD use.

But women in developing countries are not required to sign such a form. Since the Copper-T is distributed by the U.S. Agency for International Development, which made little effort to help in the recall of the Dalkon Shield or to educate women about its potential risks, Leonard

says that it's likely many Third World women will never be told of the IUD's risks.

Leonard says that "patient selection" may look good on paper, but probably won't hold up in practice. "We all know family planning places that are going to give them (Copper-Ts) to sexually active 18-year-olds who they think are too irresponsible to use other methods of birth control.... At the policy-making level you can say this is workable, but there are some problems. And I'm not sure that all women will understand what the numbers mean or the risks involved."

Studies of the Copper-T, and of IUDs in general, are limited. A four-year clinical study of the Copper-T found its pregnancy rate to be about the same as the pill. There have been no long-term studies on PID rates in Copper-T wearers. In general, at the time of IUD insertion women have a risk of infection that is two times greater than women not using any form of contraception; some contraceptives, especially barrier methods, have been found to actually protect women from sexually transmitted diseases, including PID.

Another concern about IUD use is that doctors don't really know how the device works. Until recently experts believed that IUDs prevented pregnancy by irritating the lining of the uterus, making the womb unreceptive to a fertilized egg. But recent research at the Chilean Institute for Reproductive Medicine in Santiago suggests that the irritation plays a secondary role. The researchers found that the body's reaction to IUDs makes fluid in the uterus hostile to sperm. And copper-bearing IUDs were found to inhibit egg production in the ovaries. Researchers admit, however, that they know little about the body's reaction to copper, or why it helps to prevent conception.

Despite the lack of research, Leonard says the IUD "is still safer than pregnancy, especially in places where health care is limited. It would be ideal if everybody had access to free condoms, and every man would use them, but we all know that is just not the way it is." —M.G.

By Jim Naureckas

THE NICARAGUAN CONTRA FORCES ARE engaged in perhaps their most serious internal power struggle to date. Last month the movement's most powerful civilian leader, Adolfo Calero, reportedly attempted to oust his erstwhile ally, contra military commander Enrique Bermudez. With U.S. support, Bermudez survived that challenge. But days later, there were reports of a petition signed by 49 contra military and civilian leaders calling for Bermudez' ouster.

The infighting could play a crucial role in the peace process between the contras and the Nicaraguan government, since a shift of power in Bermudez' favor would likely lead to a hardening of contra negotiating positions (see accompanying story). Bermudez—a former colonel in the National Guard of the late Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza—is thought to subscribe to a philosophy once expressed by one of his top aides: "He who speaks of a dialogue with the communists speaks of wasting his time."

That opinion seems to be secretly shared by Reagan administration strategists, who have sometimes indicated a preference for continued warfare over a solution that would leave the Sandinistas in power. Officially, however, the administration is cautiously supportive of the ongoing negotiations that led to the cease-fire agreement in March. If the administration openly opposes the peace process, Congress is not likely to continue aid to the contras.

So the U.S. must play an intricate game: getting the contras to appear committed to good-faith negotiations while actually blocking an agreement. Contra sources recently told *Newsweek* that a "senior CIA official" had instructed them to "press for concessions the Sandinistas are likely to reject." The CIA plans to get new aid from Congress by making it appear that the Sandinistas are to blame when the negotiations collapse, the sources told the magazine.

Politicians vs. military: For those plans to work, the administration needs to present the contras to Congress as moderates. Thus the U.S. uses a five-member political directorate, which includes Calero, to lobby on Capitol Hill. Observers say the members of this group have traditionally had little intrinsic clout. The soldiers, not the politicians, have historically had the real power in the guerrilla movement.

But recent contra-Sandinista negotiations have highlighted the political side of the rebellion. In this unstable situation, Calero last month attempted to persuade the directorate to oust Bermudez. Calero, a Notre Dame-educated former Coca-Cola executive with pre-revolution ties to the CIA, has in the past supported Bermudez. But according to the *New York Times*, Calero "persuaded a handful of younger rebel commanders to try to oust Col. Bermudez and make Mr. Calero 'supreme commander.'" Calero allegedly promised the commanders he wanted to "string the Sandinistas along" in negotiations in hopes that a George Bush presidency would be able to gain new contra aid.

According to news accounts, Calero was defeated by two other members of the directorate who aligned themselves with Bermudez. The two make an odd couple: Aristides Sanchez is a right-wing nationalist and former associate of Somoza; while Alfredo



Civilian leader Adolfo Calero so far seems to be a loser in contra infighting.

Contra vs. contra: former allies fight for leadership of rebellion

Cesar, considered a liberal, fought against Somoza and served in the Sandinista government.

The *New York Times* presented Calero's

NICARAGUA

defeat as a victory of doves over hard-liners. But there is no reason to think that Bermudez and Sanchez wanted negotiations to succeed. Neither was actively involved with negotiating the cease-fire agreement, and Bermudez has been harshly critical of the accord.

But Calero doesn't seem inclined to serious negotiations either. In a *Washington Post* opinion piece, he suggested that all "card-carrying members of the Sandinista party" be purged from the Nicaraguan army. That is exactly one of the sure-to-be-rejected demands that the CIA wanted to use in its propaganda effort, according to contra sources interviewed by *Newsweek*.

The petition: Perhaps the anti-Bermudez officers should be believed when they told the *Washington Post* that the struggle was not over whether to negotiate with the government, but over "Bermudez' corrupt and

dictatorial leadership." If that is so, the U. came down solidly on the side of corruption and dictatorship. The CIA "sat on Calero hard" when he proposed ousting Bermudez, according to the *New York Times*—and the *Times'* account, heavily slanted against Calero, is largely sourced to "American officials."

The commanders who challenged Bermudez, including former No. 2 military leader Walter Calderon, were removed from the negotiating team, and the *Washington Times* has predicted that they will soon lose their command positions entirely. On May 4, Honduran authorities expelled Calderon and several other dissident contra leaders from Honduras, where the contra military leadership is based.

But the ousted commanders are fighting back with a petition made public last week, signed by 49 contra military and civilian leaders, calling for Bermudez' replacement by a junta of regional commanders. Calderon, one of the main sponsors of the petition, told the *Washington Post* the petition had nothing to do with either Calero or the negotiations, but with long-standing complaints about corruption and incompetence.

Bermudez survived similar attempts to oust him in 1981 and 1984, largely because of stalwart support from the CIA, the contras' sponsors. According to the *Post*, both his supporters and opponents say he can count on the same support today.

And with contra commanders loyal to Bermudez playing larger roles in the most recent round of negotiations, progress toward peace has halted. The Sandinistas, for once, take no pleasure in divisions in the contra movement. As one Sandinista official noted, "In wartime you want your enemies to be divided, but when you're looking for peace you want them to be united." □

Contra-Sandinista peace talks in Managua appear stalemated in wake of split

MANAGUA—From the moment contra leaders arrived in Managua for a second round of peace talks April 28, speculation abounded as to just who would be speaking—and negotiating—for the rebels. Adolfo Calero, a contra political leader, had reportedly just lost a battle with top military chief Enrique Bermudez (see accompanying story). Bermudez reportedly had the support of two other members of the directorate, Aristides Sanchez and Alfredo Cesar.

But there were simultaneous reports of a "rebellion" against Bermudez among 49 contra leaders. Hence it was unclear just who held the upper hand.

The leaders themselves denied all reports of divisions within the ranks. But the very composition of the delegation reflected Bermudez' strengthened position. Unlike the first round of talks April 15-17 the contra team included top military commanders Israel Galeano (known as "Franklin"), Jose Bravo ("Mack") and especially Juan Ramon Romero ("Quiche"). All are allies of Bermudez and all are known to be hard-liners on reaching any accommodation with the Sandinistas.

This lineup and the reigning confusion showed through in the dialogue sessions themselves. The talks quickly bogged down in details. The contras have agreed to enter seven cease-fire zones set up

under a cease-fire pact signed in Sapoa on March 23. But the two sides were still unable to reach terms on a *modus operandi* inside the zones once they become official.

Most critically, the manner in which the rebels are to receive humanitarian assistance remains the chief stumbling block. The Sapoa accord stipulates that the aid be distributed by a neutral agency. But the contras reject the government's offer of using the International Red Cross, claiming that organization's Nicaraguan chapter is allied with the Sandinistas.

Meanwhile, Managua claims that the U.S. Agency for International Development's (AID) distribution of the new humanitarian aid to contras in Honduras violates the Sapoa agreement (see "Ashes & Diamonds," page 17).

These uncertainties all lent to the inconclusive finish of the talks April 30, when the two sides were unable even to agree on a date or location for a new round of dialogue. The contras also rejected a government proposal for a 30-day extension of the current 60-day provisional cease-fire, set to expire May 30, on the grounds the original time line is sufficient to take the various steps required under the peace plan.

For their part, the Sandinistas were also confounded at the rebel leaders' sudden

insistence that the talks be held somewhere other than Managua, after months of demanding that the discussions should take place only in the Nicaraguan capital.

At the same time, "Managua II" occurred amid a backdrop of a growing labor problem that threatens to undermine the peace process itself. The second day of the talks police arrested 30 people outside an opposition union office where 36 construction workers are on hunger strike demanding higher salaries. The action came during larger strikes by construction workers and auto mechanics. The authorities effectively sealed off the office of the General of Congress Workers Independent (CGTI) to "restore order."

The Sandinistas accuse the strikers of being manipulated by right-wing parties allied with the CIA, seeking to promote destabilization. The labor dispute has been simmering since the mid-February monetary reforms, which set new salary and price scales for all workers.

With the labor issue at an impasse and little apparent progress in the talks, the contras decided "conditions were not propitious" for further meetings to occur in Managua. And as the 60-day cease-fire clock ticked away, both sides threatened to resume military action should May 30 arrive without further progress evident in the Sapoa process. —William Gasperini

By Diana Johnstone

ITALIAN NEWSPAPERS GAVE BANNER HEADLINES to the great "poisoned grapefruit" scare. The Italian government on April 26 ordered all Jaffa grapefruit taken off the market following mysterious warnings that grapefruit imported from Israel were poisoned. Grapefruit were seized in Rome markets and tested. A few were an alarming shade of blue. Laboratory mice persuaded to eat the fruit thereupon died—perhaps from all the excitement. For the "poison" turned out to be a harmless substance, methylene blue.

The hoax was transparent. Israeli officials said from the start that the "poison" was an invention, obviously intended to deal a blow to Israel's flourishing citrus-export business—23,000 tons of grapefruit annually to Italy alone. That business is becoming increasingly controversial, so long as Israel blocks efforts by the European Economic Community to grant Palestinians in the Occupied Territories comparable rights to export their produce. Jaffa oranges were produced by Palestinians long before the Israelis "made the desert bloom," but the Israeli Citrus Marketing Board has done everything to strangle Palestinian exports from the Occupied Territories (see *In These Times*, April 27).

Israelis might be justified in suspecting that the Italians took their sweet time exposing the hoax. Everybody voiced disapproval, but secretly there were probably a number of Italians who didn't mind warning the Israelis that their exports might suffer from prolonged denial of Palestinian rights. Since the *Intifada* (the Palestinian revolt in the Occupied Territories) and the assassination of Abu Jihad, some groups on the left have begun calling for a boycott of Israeli produce.

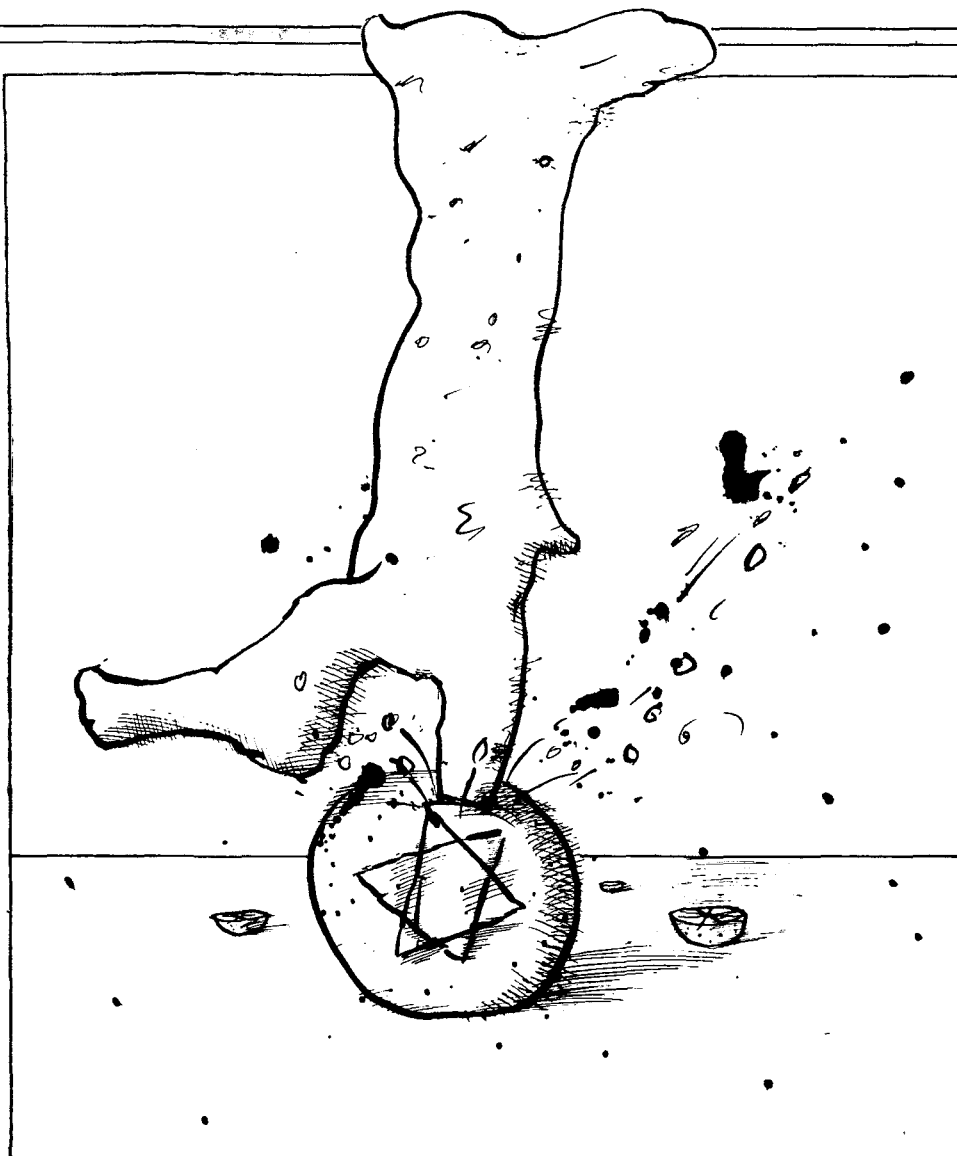
The Israeli government sent a commando unit to assassinate Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Khalil al Wazir, known as Abu Jihad, at his residence in Tunis last April 16. Air-control authorities have confirmed that the Israeli air force Boeing 707 that supervised the assassination was operating from Italian air space, to avoid being detected by Tunisian air control. To ward off suspicions of complicity, the Italian government was obliged to protest vociferously. Italian labor leaders jointly condemned the assassination as a deliberate aggravation of an already tense situation. In Livorno, dock workers called a symbolic one-hour strike, which could be taken as a warning to the Israeli shipping company headquartered there.

Killing peace: The assassination of Abu Jihad has fanned the mounting anger against Israel throughout the region. Although formally the "No. 2" leader of the PLO, Abu Jihad was quite possibly more important than PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat himself.

Abu Jihad has been widely described as the mastermind of the stone-throwing uprising in the Occupied Territories. If so, then he was able to contain and channel the revolt toward precise political goals: gaining recognition of Palestinian national identity with a view toward negotiating an independent Palestinian state. By the same token, he would also have had the prestige to impose a truce and a peace settlement. To make peace, strong leaders are needed.

Observers aware of this rule saw the assassination of Abu Jihad as final proof that Israel rejects peace.

Grasping this point, *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis wrote that the assassination "has strengthened the most radical



The Israeli-Palestinian conflict's bitter fruit

elements in the PLO. No Palestinian who matters is going to come forward now to talk of peace with Israel."

The semi-official *Egyptian Gazette* called the killing a "blow to moderate and en-

MIDEAST

lightened tendencies" inside the PLO. The daily stressed that Arafat and Abu Jihad favored an unarmed uprising in Gaza and the West Bank, because they had a diplomatic rather than military objective: recognition of the Palestinian people's rights in international negotiations. "Every time the PLO seems to be heading toward any sort of compromise or tends to replace armed action by diplomacy, someone surges out of the shadows with a gun or a bomb," the newspaper commented, recalling the assassinations of Said Hammami and Issam Sartawi, Palestinian pioneers in seeking peace talks with Israel (see *In These Times*, April 13).

The timing seemed particularly unfortunate to André Fontaine, editor of *Le Monde*. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov had just publicly invited the PLO to recognize Israel in return for Israeli acceptance of the Palestinians' right to self-determination. This step toward wisdom, the editor wrote, "deserved a better response than the assassination of Abu Jihad."

Strange timing: The closeness of the Israeli-U.S. strategic alliance led some observers to suppose that the sudden U.S. Navy move against Iranian oil platforms in the Persian Gulf must have been deliberately timed to distract from the assassination of Abu Jihad in particular and the uprising in the Occupied Territories in general. U.S. military engagement on the Arab side in the Gulf war

seemed capable of consoling Saudi Arabia for the loss of young Palestinian lives in the Occupied Territories.

Maurizio Matteuzzi wrote in *Il Manifesto* that both the right and the left in Israel pursued the same aims "with scientific precision." To avoid any negotiated peace, they intended to "drive the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, and their PLO leaders, to drop their stones (which so far have earned them more than 150 dead but a disturbing popularity) and take up arms, bombs, assassinations (best of all, in Tel Aviv's twisted logic, when carried out in a London airport or a European synagogue)—in short, to turn them away from the potentially unstoppable and victorious popular insurrection in their own country, and back to the old desperate and defensive terrorism of mere survival..."

Italian Communist Party daily *Unità* editor Fabio Mussi called the grapefruit poisoning "crazy," concluded that Italy was becoming "more and more immersed in Mideast conflicts," and that Italy's destiny was bound up

As the Intifada drags on, anti-Israeli feeling has reportedly been growing in the Eastern Mediterranean, not only among Arab countries, but also in the non-Arab nations of the region.

with the peoples and nations of the Mideast.

A surprising instance of this interrelationship was the last-minute cancellation of a big Rome "Ecopacifist" demonstration. The event was to have been held on April 23 to commemorate the Chernobyl disaster by celebrating victories of the Italian anti-nuclear movement. On the eve of the demonstration, sponsoring organizations split over an invitation issued to PLO representative Nemer Hammad to address the gathering. The more conservative environmental organizations, the World Wildlife Fund, Italia Nostra, the Radical Party and the Federation of the local Green (*Verdi*) groups refused to admit the PLO. The more political sponsors, Italian Communist Party and its youth federation FGCI, the sports and cultural association ARCI, *Democrazia Proletaria*, *Lotta Continua*, the Association for Peace, the Environmental League, Friends of the Earth and the Green parliamentary group thereupon pulled out rather than exclude the PLO.

The split over the Palestinian question came along just in time to block a project for federation between *Democrazia Proletaria* and the Greens. It was felt to be a serious setback to the effort to develop a new "Ecopacifist" political movement combining ecology and non-violent support for oppressed peoples.

New enemies and old enemies: Anti-Israel feeling has reportedly been growing throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, not only among Arabs but in the non-Arab countries of the region, notably Turkey, Greece and Cyprus. The Turkish extreme right is channelling indignation against Israeli treatment of the Palestinians into classic anti-capitalist anti-Semitism. Cypriots, on the other hand, tend to identify with the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories and compare the Israelis to the Turks occupying northern Cyprus, *Die Tageszeitung* reported.

Abu Jihad's funeral in Syria provided an opportunity for reconciliation between the PLO and Syrian President Hafez al Assad. And yet Abu Jihad was jailed by Syria in 1966, fought Syria in Lebanon and based his whole career as a Palestinian leader on deep and well-founded distrust of the Arab states. One of the obstacles to restoring relations (broken off in 1983) between the PLO and Syria was reportedly the Syrian insistence that the PLO break off contacts with "Israeli democratic forces." That is, Syria wanted to veto the Israeli-Palestinian peace dialogue.

Israel has taken care of this particular obstacle by expressing its own veto in eloquent form: murdering the top PLO leader.

Meanwhile in Italy, Socialist Party leader Bettino Craxi has been up to something, suggesting that the European Community take over administration of the Occupied Territories during a transition period on the way to a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation. Craxi's proposals may be good only for domestic consumption. The idea that Italy should try to do something finds a broad echo.

Using his pen name of Ghino di Tacco in the Socialist paper *Avanti!*, Craxi parodied the habitual buck-passing of outside powers when it comes to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Skeptics, he wrote, say Italy can't do anything—try Europe. Europe can't—try the U.S. The U.S. can't—try Israel. Israel turns to Mossad. And Mossad "does what it can."

What it can and did do in assassinating Abu Jihad is widely viewed as "not only a crime but a mistake" that will be costly not only for Israel but for everyone else in the region. □

IUD

Continued from page 7

itors. All pending lawsuits were suspended, and the court set April 30, 1986, as the deadline for filing further claims. It also required Robins to sponsor a second worldwide publicity campaign, this time notifying women both of their right to sue the company and the filing deadline.

Again, claimants' lawyers say the campaign was inadequate. The courts received 176,508 claims from U.S. women, compared to 19,531 from foreign women. In Latin America, where the U.S. Agency for International Development distributed 30,000 to 40,000 Shields in each country, fewer than 200 claims were filed.

Corporate compensation: Langley says that Robins' notification program was so inadequate that "even today thousands of women injured by the Shield do not know of their right" to compensation. She believes that Robins pressured doctors to withhold medical records as well as information about the lawsuit.

Several Latin American women who did file claims have testified that they were pressured to drop the claims. In a notarized statement, a Guatemalan woman said that her doctor told her "that if I made this claim I would probably have many problems because this company could make a counter suit against me if I didn't prove my damages; a large amount could be demanded. I was informed a special doctor would examine me and since my damage was so long ago it wouldn't be found."

For Guatemalan women the problem is exacerbated because the national family planning agency destroyed all records from 1970 to 1974. Claimants' attorneys say they will ask the courts to accept limited documentation from Latin American women. "There's been a tremendous problem getting medical records and documentation ranging

from problems with doctors, governments and health departments," says Michael Pretl, one of the dozens of lawyers representing claimants.

Pretl says he has not heard any reports of Robins pressuring women to drop their claims. But he adds that in a lawsuit where individual Latin women must confront a multinational corporation, there is always the possibility of subtle intimidation. "People hear about the U.S. legal system and how litigious we are. They don't understand the legal system here and they are scared," Pretl says.

Pretl and Langley were among the claimants' attorneys who petitioned the court to extend the deadline for filing claims. They also asked the court to force Robins to sponsor a third notification campaign in Latin America, but the court turned them down.

"Among the foreign cases, I think there are probably thousands of cases that will never be considered," Pretl says. "There are probably hundreds of thousands of women who were seriously injured by the Dalkon Shield and will never get any remedy."

Women continue to file claims against Robins, but those filed after the deadline will be considered only after all others have been paid. Under a reorganization plan released in March, Robins will set up a \$2.38 billion trust fund to pay off claims. They will be paid on what Schainwald calls "a worst-case, first-serve basis" with those filed before the deadline considered ahead of the late claims. If the trust fund is depleted before all are paid, some women will receive no compensation.

Robins is expected to emerge from bankruptcy court this summer, ending more than 10 years of court battles as a new, healthy company. And as part of Robins' reorganization plan, American Home Products Corp. has agreed to buy Robins for \$3.28 billion, \$900 million more than the claimants' trust fund.

Nunn

Continued from page 3

fledgling black-white coalitions created in many state parties might collapse. This would be a political and moral disaster.

There are drawbacks to the Southern strategy, however. Most national Democratic leaders and the influential Washington press corps want Dukakis to nominate Sen. Sam Nunn, even if he has to promise him a Cabinet post. According to this proposal, which is being advanced by former Virginia Gov. Chuck Robb and influential columnists like the *Wall Street Journal's* Albert Hunt, Dukakis should lure Nunn out of the Senate, where he enjoys tremendous power as chairman of the Armed Services Committee, by promising to make him both vice president and secretary of defense or state. Such a proposal appears to be constitutional, but could lead to a political crisis if the president wanted to fire his Cabinet officer.

There are, indeed, good reasons for choosing Nunn. He is extremely popular throughout the Deep South. And his knowledge of and experience in foreign and military policy would make it harder for Bush to use his own foreign policy experience against Dukakis. But the party's left wing is likely to fight the choice of Nunn because of his support for the contras and the MX missile as well as his opposition to abortion.

The other Southerners whom Dukakis might choose have, however, even greater liabilities. Graham lacks foreign policy experience, and is little known outside Florida. During the New York primary Gore alienated blacks, white liberals and the 30 Democratic senators who had the temerity to criticize Israel. And the colorless Bentsen might not even

be able to win Texas for Dukakis.

For these reasons, the party's left should take a long look at Nunn. Of all vice presidential choices under current consideration, he would help the party the most in the presidential and congressional races. In 1986, by accompanying liberal Wyche Fowler round Georgia, Nunn made it possible for Fowler to upset Senate incumbent Mack Mattingly. Alabama AFL-CIO President Asa Trammell, a Paul Simon backer, admits that no one would help the Democratic ticket more.

Like Johnson and Carter, Nunn has shown signs of moving to the political center as he has become a national rather than regional politician. Four years ago, Nunn would not have voted against Robert Bork's Supreme Court confirmation or for the Democratic trade bill, nor led the fight against the administration's attempt to "reinterpret" the ABM treaty.

If Nunn accepted the vice presidency, he would have to defer to the president's wishes on policy—whatever arrangement was worked out beforehand. As a Cabinet officer, Nunn would gain administrative control over a federal department, but he would lose his political base in the Senate, from which he had the power to defy presidents. In addition, with Nunn's departure, the Senate Armed Services Committee would be dominated by party liberals Carl Levin of Michigan and Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts.

Even if the Dukakis-Nunn ticket lost, the Democrats would still likely pick up two or three more Senate seats and as many as 10 House seats. And the Democrats would be positioned to contest for power in the '90s, when the turkeys hatched by the Reagan economic revolution finally come home to roost.

Plants

Continued from page 6

to enjoin the company from removing tools during the life of the mortgage. The city's battle has been strengthened by the initiative of the dynamic union (a "directly affiliated" local of the AFL-CIO that is not in any national union) and its consultant, the Midwest Center for Labor Research. But in Norwood, Ohio, a city attorney anxious to mount a full-scale guerrilla legal battle with General Motors over the closing of its assembly plant is hampered by lack of cooperation from the union or the mayor.

City attorney Robert Kelly wanted to take over GM's vacant land, then let GM sell its old plant. Meanwhile, the city would insist that GM maintain the plant scrupulously or face a demolition order. The city is proceeding with a suit asking for more than \$300 million in compensation for public improvements that benefitted GM.

Oakland-based attorney James Eggleston, who has worked on plant-closing issues for years and represents the Kenosha UAW local, believes that legal challenges can play an important part of a community and worker campaign against plant closings. Legal challenges usually provide leverage for concessions or, more rarely, indirectly block shutdowns. But so far there has been no clear court test of direct confrontation between traditional private property rights and implicit or explicit contracts with public agencies. The Kenosha and Duluth cases could provide solid tests if they are pursued to their conclusions.

The strategy of linking workers to communities and finding corporate legal obligations to communities is a promising one.

"Courts are recognizing severe and devastating effects closings have on communities," Eggleston said, "and those effects are of concern to judges who might not be as concerned about workers themselves. There's some interest in courts in protecting their citizens."

Later this year a group of 20 local groups fighting plant closings will launch a new national Federation for Industrial Retention and Renewal. So far they've agreed to fight for stronger plant-closing legislation requiring consultation with unions and communities, establishment of federally sponsored but locally controlled regional jobs authorities with broad legal and economic powers, and formation of a national industrial development bank to finance the authorities.

But other options are being discussed. One is the Workers' Superfund, initially proposed by former Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers leader Tony Mazzocchi and supported by Hometowns Against Shutdowns, a Freehold, N.J., group formed in the fight—aided by homeboy Bruce Springsteen—against a shutdown by 3M Corp. Unlike the other plant-closing groups' strategies to retain manufacturing, the Superfund emphasizes providing college education to displaced workers so they can make a transition to jobs in high-tech, intellectual or service work.

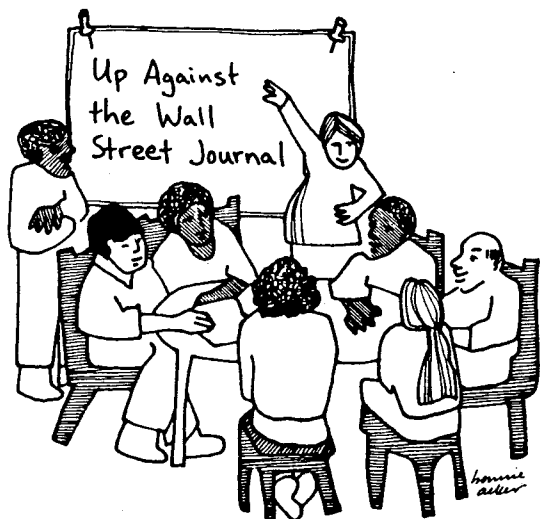
The movement against shutdowns seems poised, especially if there is a liberal Democratic administration, to demand that business abide by a respectful social contract with workers and communities or, if they refuse, that public authorities step in to run businesses on their own for the sake of community economic survival.

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By Paul Rauber

SAN FRANCISCO

TO HIS VICTIMS IN EL OLIMPO, THE CAMPO de Mayo, Pozo de Quilmes and other secret Argentine military prisons and torture centers, he was known as "the lord of death and life." Robbed now of that omnipotence, former Gen. Carlos Guillermo Suarez Mason recently faced those same victims in federal court in San Francisco, where a \$21 million judgment was awarded against him on April 25.

A stooped, tired old man with bags under his eyes, the former commander of the First Army Corps in and around Buenos Aires also lost his battle to avoid extradition, and may soon be sent back to Argentina to stand trial at last for major human rights abuses.

Suarez Mason's fortunes have declined dramatically since his glory days in the late '70s, when even other Argentine military officers feared his power. He was a classmate of former Presidents Roberto Viola and Jorge Videla, now serving 17-year and life sentences respectively for crimes committed during the "Dirty War," in which 9,000 to 30,000 people vanished. Suarez Mason's power was absolute. His crucial army post gave him direct control over the repressive apparatus of the Argentine military and police. Secret internal army documents produced in his civil trial showed him to be a meticulous, "hands-on" manager, even to the point of issuing decrees as to what should be done with the orphaned children of the "disappeared." It was a big problem in Suarez Mason's Zone 1.

The 24 torture centers within Zone 1 reported directly to the general. Emilio Mignone, ex-president of the Argentine Permanent Assembly for Human Rights, testified that he had received "hundreds of testimonies from people who survived and had seen Suarez Mason supervising those camps, and deciding over the life and death of those prisoners."

Without shame: Suarez Mason's power put him above the law of Argentina—or so he thought at the time. Horacio Martinez Baca, a labor lawyer who spent four years in Suarez Mason's custody, tells how when a subordinate was arrested for waving a pistol after a minor traffic violation, Suarez Mason personally took a jeep and six men with machine guns to get the man out of jail.

Power also made him shameless. On another occasion, the general himself attended the funeral mass at San Patricio's church in Buenos Aires for three priests and two seminarians his own men had assassinated, taking communion from the Papal Nuncio, Pio Laghi. Laghi later told *Buenos Aires Herald* Editor Robert Cox that "he felt like smashing his fist into Gen. Suarez Mason's face, instead of giving him the host."

Suarez Mason's efficiency as an exterminating angel is seen in the number of disappearances under his command. In 1976, 66 percent of all disappearances occurred in Zone 1. By 1978, the number had risen to 80 percent. Because many of the bodies were never recovered after being dumped in the South Atlantic or La Plata River by army helicopters, the computation of the exact number of murders is difficult, but the number of disappearances in Suarez Mason's Zone 1 is believed to be around 5,500.

After the civilian government of Raul Alfonsín came to power in 1983, Suarez Mason fled the country, declaring that he did not intend to submit to a trial by a civilian court. He may have taken a large amount of money with him: among the 400 charges for which

Exterminating angel of Argentina's 'Dirty War'

he is wanted in Argentina are misappropriation of funds from the government oil company, YPF, and the national airline Austral. The Argentine press has also tied him to arms and drug dealing.

His political connections show him to be on the furthest extreme of even the Argentine right wing. When Italian police discovered the membership list of the secret, fascist P-2 Masonic lodge in 1981, Suarez Mason's name was on it. In 1980 the general acted as host

HUMAN RIGHTS

of the annual conference of CAL, the Latin American Anti-Communist Confederation, which included such notables as Salvadoran death squad leader Roberto d'Aubuisson, Guatemalan death squad "Godfather" Mario Sandoval Alarcón, and Italian terrorist Stefano delle Chiaie.

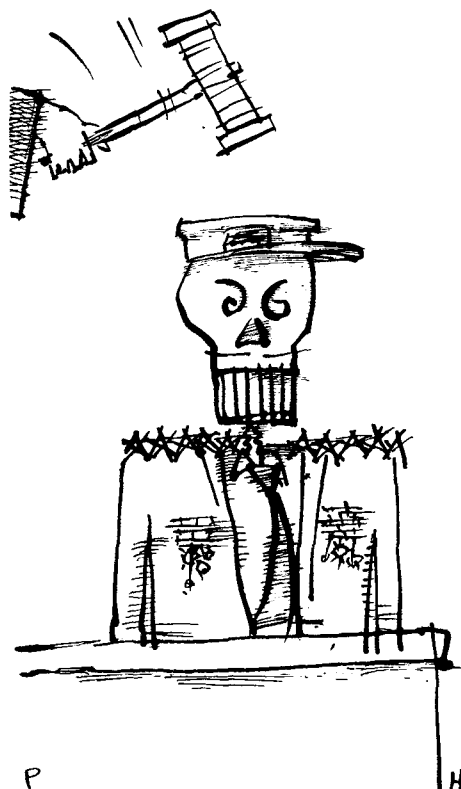
After entering the U.S. on a forged passport, Suarez Mason settled in Miami, but left Florida for New York after the Alfonsín government requested his extradition. Alfonsín personally accused him of an October 1985 attempt to destabilize the government, which included a wave of terrorist bombings prior to the congressional elections. With the police closing in on him in New York, Suarez Mason moved to the San Francisco suburb of Foster City, where he and his wife lived quietly as "Mr. and Mrs. Suarez." He was arrested in January 1987 after being traced through phone calls to his son in New York.

Since that time Suarez Mason fought a two-front battle against extradition and several civil suits seeking millions of dollars in damages. His defense in the extradition case was, in large part, a defense of the Dirty War. His Colombian lawyer, J.T. Prada, cited as legal authority for Suarez Mason's actions military decrees that called "for the military to carry out military and security operations deemed necessary to 'annihilate' subversive elements.... It is clear from the evidence, therefore, that these decrees and orders were in direct response and necessitated by the extreme terrorism that existed and continued to exist."

Suarez Mason's only witness was Maximo Gainza, former publisher of the conservative Argentine daily *La Prensa* and a friend of the family, who testified extensively about killings attributed to the Montoneros and other guerrilla groups active in the mid-'70s. Judge D. Lowell Jensen, the former deputy to Ed Meese in the Justice Department, would not, however, allow him to testify to his belief that the Dirty War was the only means to combat "leftist subversion."

Going to war: Suarez Mason tried to escape extradition by claiming his was a "political offense." The U.S. extradition treaty has historically excepted crimes committed during the course of a rebellion or uprising, a legacy of the liberal revolutionary movements of the late 19th century. What he sought to do was to turn the political offense exception on its head, to have it offer protection not to revolutionaries but to government officials for criminal acts committed in putting down revolutionary movements.

"The history of the political offense exception was never designed to protect the mur-



der of disarmed people," argued assistant U.S. Attorney Mark Zanides for the government of Argentina. "Those people died innocently, because there never was a trial—they were simply murdered."

Former California Supreme Court Justice Frank Newman, in a last-minute *amicus* brief, agreed, arguing that acts violating international law cannot be recognized as political offenses. He quoted a 1984 district court decision from New York: "Surely an act which would be properly punishable even in the context of a declared war or in the heat of open military conflict cannot and should not receive recognition under the political offense exception to the treaty."

The evidence presented by Zanides placed Suarez Mason's acts in the category of war crimes. He was shown to have exercised direct command over the conduct of the Dirty War, demanding specific daily information on each abduction, execution and disappearance. He created codes for the reporting of the results of midnight raids: "Positive Two," for example, meant that two people had been seized; "Leaving One" meant that one dead "subversive delinquent" had been left behind.

Argentina's former Gen. Carlos Guillermo Suarez Mason recently faced some of his many victims in a San Francisco court, where a \$21 million judgment was awarded against him on April 25.

One illuminating document presented at the trial recorded a conversation between Suarez Mason and a police official, whom the general was berating for not having informed him of the resurfacing of the remains of Elena Holmberg in the Lujan River. Holmberg had been a high-ranking Argentine

diplomat in Paris; she was kidnapped in Buenos Aires in 1978, and a major scandal resulted when her decomposed corpse was found in the river, causing the commanding general serious embarrassment.

"The police official's response was to inquire why Suarez was reproaching him," a fellow officer testified, "when they had thrown 8,000 people into the river in his jurisdiction."

On April 27 Judge Jensen found Suarez Mason extraditable for 39 counts of murder and one count of forgery. (The Argentines had also charged him with 24 counts of kidnapping, but Jensen ruled that the statute of limitations had passed.) According to the U.S./Argentine extradition treaty, Suarez Mason can be tried in Argentina only for the crimes for which he was extradited. Even so, conviction for his crimes could easily earn him a life sentence along with his former classmates; there is no capital punishment in Argentina.

Today's torturer: At the same time that he fought extradition, Suarez Mason was slapped with three multi-million dollar civil suits brought by former victims. Such actions have been possible only since 1984, when the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) succeeded in getting a federal court to allow victims of gross violations of human rights to sue their tormentors in U.S. courts, even if the violation took place in another country.

The vehicle for these suits is an obscure, 200-year-old anti-piracy statute called the Alien Tort Claims Act. In 1984 CCR won a \$10.4 million judgment against a former Paraguayan police chief called Americo Peña-Irala, on behalf of the family of Joelito Filartiga, a child who had been tortured and murdered by Peña-Irala in the chief's own home.

The first to bring a civil suit against Suarez Mason was Horacio Martinez Baca, who in addition to being a prominent labor lawyer had also served as secretary of state for the province of Mendoza. Six days after the military took power in Argentina on March 24, 1976, Baca, along with his mother, father and brother, was seized by the military. Throughout his four years of imprisonment he was tortured repeatedly by electric shocks to the genitals and gums, ice-cold showers in mid-winter, beatings on the soles of his feet, mock executions. Following intense international pressure, including appeals from Sen. Edward Kennedy and Jean Paul Sartre, he was finally released and expelled from the country in April 1980.

Suarez Mason, who claimed to have spent his last \$100,000 to pay his lawyers in the extradition case, defended himself in the civil suit, but defaulted when he refused to answer questions. His wife, Angelica, testified in a deposition that the family was supported by regular \$10,000 checks raised by "family and friends" sent by a son in Argentina. On April 25 U.S. District Judge Samuel Conti awarded Baca a \$21 million settlement, the largest award ever in a human rights case.

Baca himself is doubtful that he will ever receive any money, but says that the monetary reward is not the point. Rather, he says, the case is a warning, "above all, to dictatorial regimes and their lords of life and death, who think their crimes are unpunishable. It was able to demonstrate that they can be judged in any other place, and by their own victims."

Paul Rauber is a Berkeley-based freelance writer.

Fighting on

By James B. Goodno

KALINGA-APAYAO PROVINCE, PHILIPPINES

GUNFIRE SHATTERS THE CALM OF A RAINY afternoon deep in the Cordillera Mountains of this northern province. Teen-agers lie face down shooting at targets 150 meters away. Other recruits keep their morale high while waiting their turn on the firing line. As they wait, they clean their rifles, sing, chant and talk. Here the Marxist-led New People's Army (NPA) prepares for a continuation of its 19-year-old war against the Philippine state.

In a village surrounded by low hills closer to the plains, towns and highways, residents gather to mark the first anniversary of the death of two young neighbors who belonged to the NPA. Residents say they died defending the community against an Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) onslaught. As visitors from nearby barrios drop by, members of the NPA, organizers from the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), leaders of the underground mass organization and the "mayor" also pay their respects.

Residents call Ka (NPA shorthand for comrade) Ring their mayor. But the 36-year-old peasant didn't win his position in the country's January 18 local elections. He took his job on the request of the CPP District Committee. Ka Ring chairs the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) that runs the four farming villages in the valley. His comrades point to the establishment of "Municipal-level" PRGs as proof that the rebels' political work advances hand-in-hand with their military struggle.

The fight goes on: After two years of intense internal debate that followed Corazon Aquino's rise to the presidency, the revolutionary left finds itself back on the track it followed during Ferdinand Marcos' reign. That track emphasizes armed struggle as the principal way of combatting what rebels call a "reactionary regime."

Edwin Castro, a ranking CPP member, describes the lines that emerged during the debate as "popular democratic," which emphasizes alliance-building and political struggle; "insurrectionary," which places greater emphasis on urban political and military actions; and "protracted people's war," which adheres to the longstanding policy of primarily rural armed struggle. Castro and other movement sources say the leadership reached a firm decision to stick to the protracted people's war in the middle of last year.

Castro says advocates of the other two approaches remain within the CPP and National Democratic Front (NDF), the underground alliance led by the CPP, but he describes their influence as minimal.

"There were some intensive discussions regarding policy toward the Cory [Aquino] government," Marty Rojo, a member of the Manila-Rizal Command of the NPA, tells *In These Times*. "Some thought critical collaboration would work and that we could even win over Cory and implement some basic changes, but that was an illusion."

Taking it to the streets: NPA policy has gone through two distinct phases since Aquino came to power. The first came during the revolutionary left's internal debate. During this time, the movement, though never



c George Packer

After nearly two decades of revolution and two years of Corazon Aquino, the New People's Army of the Philippines is not about to lay down its arms.

ous impoverished compatriots.

The left's attraction to the middle class ebbed following Aquino's rise to power. Alienation of adult middle-class leftists began before the 1986 election amid the debate over "boycott versus participation." Violence aimed at the legal left and the new opportunities presented the middle class under the Aquino administration also damage alliances involving more affluent Filipinos.

Giving up on politics? Some critics now question the revolutionary left's commitment to political organization. They charge that the emphasis on military struggle stems from political weakness.

"Suddenly, rifle strength and weaponry—including the seeking of anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons—have become the focal points," writes Flor S. Eugenio of the NDF-affiliated Christians for National Liberation in *National Midweek*, a Manila magazine. "What happened to such Maoist principles as 'politics in command' and 'the people, not objects, will decide'?"

While weaknesses in the revolutionary movement's political development do exist, it would be unfair to say the movement no longer pays attention to political work. In Kalinga-Apayao Province and elsewhere, the ability of CPP and NDF officials to organize mass organizations, CPP chapters and rudimentary barrio and municipal governments accounts for much of their success. In guerrilla zones, organizers now put much effort into creating Barrio Revolutionary Committees (BRCs) and Provisional Revolutionary Governments as the building blocks of a new order.



After two years of internal debate that followed C

For the leaders of the revolutionary movement, the PRG provides a means of seeking new legitimacy at home and recognition and support abroad. For the NPA, it provides a base area and sanctuary. For the people living under the PRG, it fills in many of the gaps left by an absentee government—rudimentary schooling, health care, policing and technical aid.

The Communist Party's District Committee created the PRG in the valley here a year ago. The PRG deals with local issues: providing services and developing and enforcing local ordinances. Early this year residents of the valley gathered at a mass meeting to vote on ordinances regulating land use and division, registration of animals, and the protection of private and community property. Organizers say the officers will be elected within the year, but they also say the whole process is very new, not just to the residents of the valley, but to the revolutionary movement.

"This is still somewhat experimental for the party," says Ka Rebo, a member of the NPA. "It's the highest type of organization we've attained, and we're still in the process of learning how a provisional government is run based on the concepts we've studied." She adds, "There's a big difference between theory and practice."

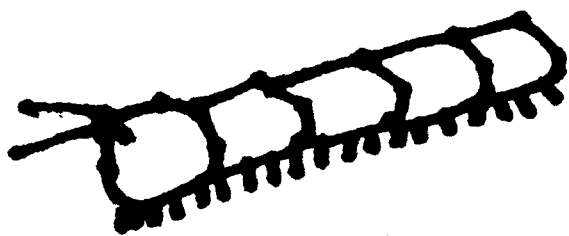
In theory, the movement here and in other parts of the sprawling archipelago will next create district, provincial and regional PRGs before the national leadership declares the existence of a national PRG. Until then, the National Democratic Front will serve as a shadow government body, both locally and nationally. At some point, leaders of the revolutionary movement promises to use the NDF or a PRG to seek internationally recognized belligerency status, to open the door to increased foreign support and bring the conflict under international law.

Doing this won't be easy, as even CPP and

A large, stylized graphic of a spiral made of the word "GIVE" repeated many times, curving around the central text. The spiral starts from the top left and winds inward towards the center, following the path of the text. The word "GIVE" is written in a bold, sans-serif font, and the spiral is composed of many repetitions of this word, creating a continuous, winding line.



Give



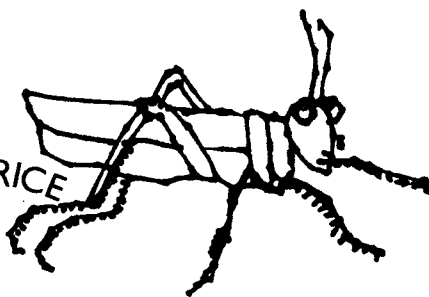
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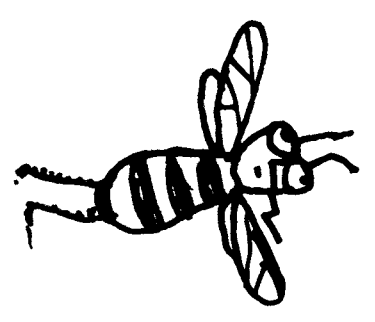


Illustration by Nicole Hollander



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Khorsandi

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ITT 18



George Packer

azon Aquino's rise to power, the Philippine revolutionary left is again stressing armed struggle.

NPA members admit. Conventional wisdom says the CPP "influences" about 20 percent of the nation's barrios. Only a handful of PRGs exist in scattered rural communities. The NDF also lacks a strong structure and distinct identity in many provinces. Building district and municipal councils, as well as constituent organizations, remains a formidable task. But in the meantime, functioning PRGs and BRCs and barrio-based mass organizations add depth to the support for the movement in the hinterlands.

Political ties that bind: The revolutionary movement has a structural advantage over the government and traditional political parties in the hinterlands: its cadre system. Traditional parties do better in electoral politics, but the government fails to maintain a strong presence in the agrarian communities dotting the countryside. The government simply does not deliver basic services and daily leadership here. In fact, Sen. Agapito "Butz" Aquino, the president's brother-in-law, recommends the establishment of a domestic "peace corps" to provide an alternative to the revolutionary left.

Observers on both sides of the conflict see the failure of the government to deliver services as a factor behind the continued popular appeal of the left. The military wants to see the local government units going into the villages, providing services and organizing people into anti-Communist civic groups coordinated by local civil-military "peace and order councils." Some government officials hope to see the municipal and provincial governments extend their reach now that elected officials hold office.

So far this hasn't happened. Corruption, lack of funds and the absence of meaningful national government programs advancing social justice make this sort of approach difficult.

The government has scored some successes in its battle with the insurgents since

1986. Its candidates won tremendous victories in local and national elections, minimalizing the impact of those seeking to

introduce left-wing issues into parliamentary politics. The government also wooed some international backers away from the

New People's Army finds its electoral path

By George Packer

BICOL REGION, PHILIPPINES

THE COMMUNIST NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY (NPA) has been fighting the Philippine government for almost 20 years, and Sotero Llamas has been in the hills of Bicol, in southern Luzon island, for 15 of them. He is not just the NPA regional commander but almost certainly a member of the outlawed Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). So when several other journalists and I met him on the eve of January's local elections, he

The NPA's long-held opposition to electoral politics has given way to a new tactic: extortion.

spoke with authority about an important new strategy.

The NPA's long-held opposition to electoral politics has given way to a new tactic: extortion. In exchange for safe-conduct passes into guerrilla-controlled areas, candidates in Bicol had turned over to the NPA at least \$150,000 and perhaps as much as \$1 million in cash, guns, nails, used clothes, rice and French egg noodles.

This "selective participation" did not

mean that the Communists suddenly approved of an electoral system they have always held in utter contempt. In fact, as Llamas saw things, the election was a part of the U.S.-directed "low-intensity conflict" (LIC) against the insurgency.

"The election is no solution," Llamas said, "but it is there." And so, went this pragmatic line of thinking, the Communists might as well get a piece of the action.

According to Llamas, they were giving "low-profile" support to "anti-low-intensity-conflict" candidates. Like any traditional ward leader paying off an electoral IOU, the NPA would deliver its 20 percent of the vote to those candidates who paid the rebels off and opposed the formation of right-wing vigilante forces in their areas.

One of these politicians turned out to be Luis Villafuerte, the governor of Camarines del Sur province. He had contributed by far the largest chunk of money to the NPA, as well as the egg noodles. The noodles had ostensibly been made from first-class wheat flour donated to typhoon victims in his province by the French government. But opponents accused Villafuerte of selling off the flour, pocketing most of the profit, giving some cash to the NPA, and having egg noodles made of cheap local flour.

When I interviewed him, Villafuerte laughed off my questions about graft and deal-cutting with the enemy. And he certainly did not talk like an NPA puppet. He claimed to have organized 2,000 of his own vigilantes among rebel returnees. He also

left and its allies, got the powerful Roman Catholic Church to crack down on dissidents within its ranks and presented—for a time, anyway—alternatives to revolution.

There have also been some military successes against the rebels. The entry of "deep-penetration agents" into the movement in Mindanao shattered many organizations there two and a half years ago, and recently formed right-wing vigilante organizations set back the rebels on that southern island even further. Likewise, the organization of anti-Communist vigilantes slowed or reversed the growth of the movement in Bicol, Cebu and possibly other areas.

But there have been important failures as well. The government hasn't developed a vision that would provide the impoverished majority with an attractive future. Progressives still supportive of the government complain about the slow pace of social and economic reforms. Ultimately, the government has succeeded in retarding the growth of the left, but not in reversing it.

Where does that leave the country? Sen. Rene Saguisag suggests the government "is in a race against time" and the insurgents. A European ambassador has a more pessimistic view from the standpoint of the Aquino government: "Who's winning the war?" he asks. "Everyday I'm asked that question. I usually tell people it's a standoff." □

James B. Goodno is *In These Times'* correspondent in the Philippines.

said he was developing a "comprehensive counterinsurgency program" with economic and political components—something the military in Bicol hadn't done. It sounded like LIC.

Swimming in cash: Llamas, nicknamed "Nognog," an appealing, good-humored man in his late 30s with a small body and a large head, couldn't help a smile as he described how the Communists had the politicians in their pockets. On the kitchen table in the thatch hut lay a new 9-mm machine pistol, one of Villafuerte's gifts to the underground.

But, one of us asked, won't this confuse the masses—since after telling them for years that elections are a part of the corrupt system, you are now telling them to vote for a power-broker like Villafuerte? Llamas suppressed a belch and, rather mischievously, answered: "When you sit down to dinner with the devil, it is possible to become more angelic."

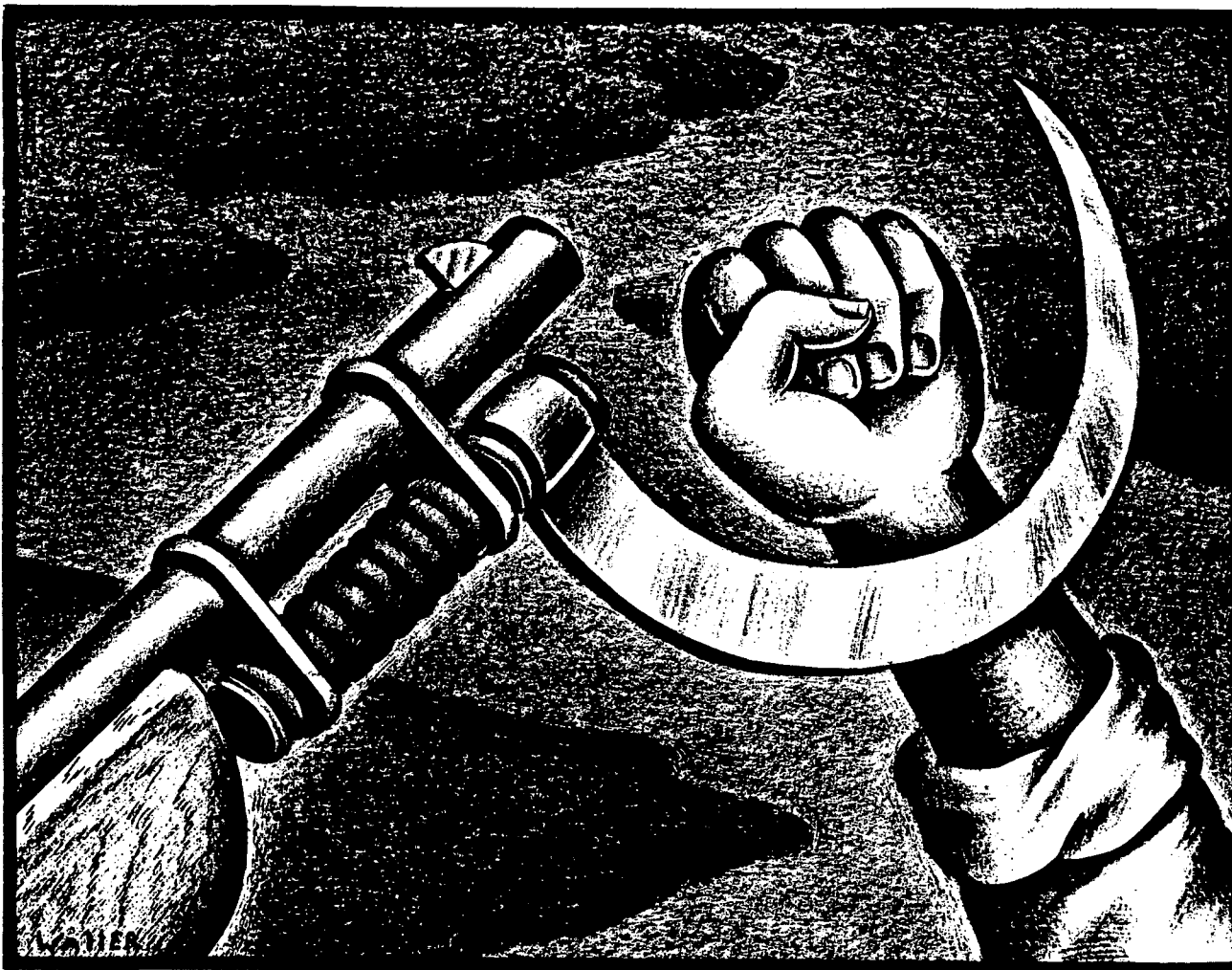
The Bicol NPA were swimming in cash. But during the several days with the guerrillas it became clear that events over the past year have put them on the defensive: not militarily, but in the game they play best—politics.

With surprising candor, Llamas spoke of recent setbacks. NPA "mistakes" and "excesses"—informers executed before their families' eyes, overtaxation of farmers—had contributed to the success of local right-wing vigilantes. In one town a strong NPA presence had been wiped out. In the cities,

Continued on page 22

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EDITORIAL



United Features Syndicate

Six years after being banned, Solidarity lives

The current wave of strikes in Poland, brought about by steep price increases recently imposed by government attempts to end subsidies, shows that the spirit of Solidarity is alive and well. Although banned in 1982, Solidarity still retains strong support among Polish workers, and even within the official trade unions, many of whose leaders are former Solidarity members. This was demonstrated last week at the striking Lenin shipyard in Gdansk—the site of Solidarity's birth—when Henryk Koscielski, head of the official union of shipyard workers, affirmed his support of the banned union. Responding to Lech Walesa, who once again is speaking on behalf of the strikers, Koscielski said the former Solidarity leader would “not find one resolution that will be against Solidarity. Many members of the new unions were in Solidarity. I was in Solidarity.”

Support for Solidarity persists six years after its banning and the imposition of martial law because it still represents the best chance for opening up Polish society. As Walesa said last week, the Polish

people “need to move to another system—not to capitalism, but to a Polish system, to pluralism.”

There is great popular support for this view in Poland, and, of course, it is what the ruling Communist Party fears most. That is why it is taking a conciliatory stance toward the strikers, while remaining adamantly hostile to Solidarity. “The government will not talk to illegal structures, Solidarity,” government spokesman Jerzy Urban said last week. “We might talk to individuals who were in Solidarity,” he added, “but not to Solidarity as a union.”

Confident of their popular support, however, Walesa and other Solidarity leaders are hoping that the new Soviet reforms and the general loosening up under Mikhail Gorbachov will give them space in which to function. Walesa expressed this indirectly last week when he said Solidarity's tragedy had been that Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev “lived two years too long.” Brezhnev died in 1982, two years after the founding of Solidarity, and the year of its banning.

And, indeed, the current demands for an opening up of Polish society are a test of *glasnost* and of the Soviet and Polish Communist Parties' commitment to reform. The world will be watching how both the Soviet Union and the Polish government deal with this revival of the spirit of democracy. ■

Congress finally gives atomic veterans a hand

In the face of strong administration opposition, the House gave final congressional approval last week to a bill providing compensation to veterans for illnesses presumed to have been caused by exposure to atomic radiation from nuclear bombs and tests during and after World War II. But while the House vote of 326-2 was clearly veto-proof, the Senate tally in passing the bill on April 25 was 48-30, much less than the two-thirds needed to overturn a veto. This leaves in doubt the bill's fate should Reagan follow through on his threat to kill it.

Between 1945, when the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, and the early '60s, when open-air nuclear tests in the South Pacific and in Nevada were ended, some 250,000 members of the U.S. armed forces were exposed to nuclear radiation with little or no protection—except the false assurances of their commanders that it was all perfectly safe. Since then, some 6,000 veterans have asked the Veterans Administration (VA) for medical treatment for a variety of cancers and other diseases presumably caused by exposure to radiation. Only 44 of these requests have been granted by

the VA, which all along has insisted that there is no proven link between most veterans' exposure and their current problems.

And, in fact, a direct link is all but impossible to prove. The level of radiation exposure can be verified only in a handful of cases. Many armed forces members did not wear radiation-monitoring badges during the atomic bomb tests at which they were present, others lost their badges and some badges were later found to be defective. But there is no doubt that nuclear radiation causes cancer, or that the rate of cancers among those exposed is much higher than in the general population. Nor is there any doubt about the pain and suffering that thousands of veterans are experiencing, both because of their medical problems and because of the callousness of a government they have loyally served. As Sen. Thomas A. Daschle (D-SD) asks about the lack of scientific proof in these cases, “How long will we wait for that proof? Will we wait until all these veterans are dead?”

If left to the administration and its supporters in Congress, the answer to Daschle's question will be yes. After all, unlike the powerful corporations that grow fat on government subsidies, veterans are expendable. They do not fill campaign coffers or have their representatives in top government positions. The Reagan administration's response to the veterans—to whom it pays lip service at election time—is one more example of its disloyalty to the American people. ■

IN THESE TIMES

“...with liberty and justice for all”

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(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700

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NATIONAL WRITERS UNION

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LETTERS

In defense of Nissan

DAVID MOBERG'S "IS THERE A UNION IN NISSAN'S FUTURE?" (ITT, April 6) is a slanted and inaccurate portrayal of the work environment at Nissan's Tennessee manufacturing facility. It seems a classic example of "reporting" used to confirm preconceived notions. The majority of the article depends on stories of disaffected former employees and persons with pseudonyms, rather than on a thorough investigation of the subject. Any organization can be made to look bad by selective reporting. Your "journalism" is sadly lacking in fairness, accuracy and balance.

Measurable indicators sustain the fact that our company has an active, dependable work force. For the fiscal year ending in March 1988, a total of 441 employees had outstanding attendance records—they did not miss more than one day during the year for any reason. Our current employee turnover is less than 3 percent, which is low for our industry and remarkable for a company barely eight years old.

Our employees are responsible people who take their work seriously. They realize that our low absenteeism rate contributes to the success of our operation, which, in turn, affects our bonuses. Our Success Sharing program links bonuses to corporate performance, based on quality and financial goals. As our company succeeds in achieving its goals, we all share in that success.

I can credit Moberg for stating accurately that Nissan "quality ratings [are] very high." He correctly lists positives such as our layoff-free history, Involvement Circles, job rotation (in practice, not just theory), peer review, daily work group meetings and quarterly company-wide meetings. The article refers to *Fortune* magazine's recognition of our company as one of the 10 best-managed factories in America. In addition, we were commended for two years in "The Best 100 Companies to Work for in America." Achievements like this could not be possible if the work force were merely "tolerating the intolerable," as Moberg claims.

Several people quoted claim that our company's practices cause work-related injuries. We have had a few relatively minor job-related injuries (primarily strains and sprains), although we continually strive to achieve high safety objectives. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, our safety record compares very favorably with other manufacturers. We have never been fined for an OSHA violation, have never incurred a serious OSHA violation and have amassed as many as two million consecutive man-hours without a lost-time accident. In all instances when employees are injured, they are treated fairly by the company, both while they're away from work and after they return.

Other inaccuracies in your article include:

- Our former president, Marvin Runyon, did not "mysteriously" leave his job last fall. At the beginning of this year, Runyon retired from his 44-year career in the automotive industry to accept the chairmanship of the Tennessee Valley Authority board—a post to which he was appointed by the president.

- Nissan did not distribute hundreds of buttons that read "Unemployed Auto Worker." A group of employees designed and distributed the buttons, apparently at

their own expense and effort. The company was not involved.

- Nissan is not guilty of failing to report injuries. We are required under the Tennessee Workers' Compensation Law to file a first report of any work injury immediately after knowledge of the accident. We have never failed to comply with this law and remain in good standing with the Tennessee Department of Labor.

- The UAW's "serious" organizing efforts have come to naught during the past eight years. A Nashville *Tennessean* report on the January kick-off of the union's most recent card-signing drive described the effort as "just plugging along" a month later. "We always hope things will happen faster than they do," said union representative Charles McDonald.

- Nissan employees are not "rawboned hillbillies... [who] lose all self-respect, manhood and womanhood when they work in [our] plant," as quoted by one of the union organizers. You lend credibility to the speaker by publishing such a denigrative statement. Our employees are, in fact, highly motivated, well-trained people who take pride in themselves and their high-quality work.

We're trying to be the best company we can within a global market. Our objective is to work together to produce the highest-quality vehicles sold in North America. We listen to what employees have to say about their working environment, and we make every attempt to respond. We believe in open, honest communication and practice it daily.

Jerry L. Benefield

President and chief executive officer
Nissan Motor Manufacturing Corp., U.S.A.

David Moberg replies: The article quoted only two former employees and identified only one with a pseudonym, but the judgments were made on the basis of interviews with more than a couple dozen current workers, including some picked out by both management and the union.

Not utopian

ROBERT CLAIBORNE (ITT, APRIL 20) EXPRESSES his views on "the relevance of socialism" using a two-part formula: "What is socialism?" and "How do we get it?"

Between the strictly conceptual phase of defining an idea and the strictly technical phase of actualizing it lies a gulf of contradiction: if you concentrate excessively on either end of the process, the bridge to where you want to go doesn't get there.

Maybe theoretical definition as such will never be of interest to more than a minority of intellectually trained individuals. On the other end, all the cases Claiborne cites of

specific "socialist" goals involve, as he points out, a lack of a clear sense of what socialism means. This seems to be the easier excess of the two to fall into, judging by the plethora of historical examples—which comprise the bulk of what we call "leftism."

If that were all there were to it, the problems would be easily solved. With a little common sense, "we" could both adequately define our idea of socialism and do something to bring it about. This might be styled "square-one syndrome." "We" have been coming back to it for years. A weak definition translates into a defective problem-solving capability; conversely, functional problem-solving requires a widely accepted basis in sound theory.

If we accept, for example, that socialism means "abolition of the wages system," then all action should be limited to that premise. Including any other alternate premises would invalidate socialism as defined *that way*. Getting out of the wages system means choosing no longer to work within it—mentally as well as institutionally. All of those concrete issues Claiborne discusses ("democratizing" investment, "changing the distribution of power," national health insurance) revolve around the supposition that we must continue to maintain the wages system.

I define socialism as a global system of producing and distributing wealth that requires no money. It is not a utopian aspiration. It requires only enough purposeful and well-informed support to switch the institutions of production for the market over to those of marketless production. What we ought to be doing is arousing everyone's interest in experimenting with *that*. All the other things that get called socialism really aren't: in the end they're just one approach or another to continuing the trek to a still more highly socialized form of capitalist production than we now have. It doesn't really matter, for instance, what exactly the term "nationalization" does imply: it can lead no further than to a different (not a better, not a worse) mix of profits and wages than the present one. *What* you nationalize can only be a market.

Ronald Elbert

World Socialist Party (US)

Straining credulity

IT'S NICE TO SEE PROGRESSIVES PROPOSING AN ALTERNATIVE economic platform, as reported by John B. Judis (ITT, April 27). Though the question, "What would you do?" is often a smokescreen for those seeking to preserve the status quo, it's important for the left to have some good answers ready as the sickly Reagan boom peters out. There are several problems with what Judis discusses, but I'll

concentrate on two, one theoretical, the other political.

First is that old dodge: raising wages will make the system work better. In the short term this may be true, but not over the longer term. From the late '40s through 1982, the wage and salary share of national income rose from about 65 percent to 75 percent, and the share claimed by corporate profits fell from about 15 percent to 6 percent. While this was due mainly to declining corporate profitability—real wages topped out in the early '70s, and are now about 15 percent below that peak—it nonetheless inspired the business offensive that culminated in Reagan's election and the seven-year-long revolt of the haves he's led. Under capitalism a higher wage share provokes a crisis—it doesn't resolve it.

Second, the political point: would European social democracy exist without the threat to capital posed by militant, politicized unions and strong left parties? Politics is about compromise, but if you approach power already having compromised yourself—presumably to seduce the powerful with your sweet reasonableness—then you are bound to fail. Agitate for higher wages and worker participation in management because they are just, not because they will make the system work better. Arguing that business doesn't know its own interests strains credulity.

Like it or not, capitalism is a profit-led, trickle-down system—even the Swedish welfare state, which is financed by the export of high-priced, high-profit staples like Volvos and Absolut vodka. It's hard to imagine Swedish social democracy financing itself on the strength of Sweden's domestic market alone. And that points to another problem—the relevance of lessons learned from a country with a population less than 5 percent the size of ours, with a gross national product roughly equal to the annual sales of General Motors, which exports a third of its output, five times as much as the U.S. Any refurbishing of U.S. capitalism is more likely to resemble the worst of Japan than the best of Sweden—but that's another can of worms entirely.

Doug Henwood

Editor, *Left Business Observer*
New York

Correction

Due to an editing error, the April 27 issue of *In These Times* incorrectly referred to three Irish Republican Army (IRA) volunteers killed in Gibraltar as "the men." In fact, one of those killed was a woman, Mairead Farrell, 31, was the senior IRA officer in the mission.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

Gorbachov gambles on market's effect on jobs

By Esther Kingston-Mann

IN THE PAST THREE YEARS WESTERN commentators have portrayed Mikhail Gorbachov's far-reaching economic reforms as if they were intended to introduce major components of capitalism into the Soviet economy. At the same time scholars and journalists who have never before referred to the achievements of the Soviet welfare system, are now gloomily predicting that *perestroika* is destined to fail because it violates the cradle-to-grave social security guarantees that Soviet citizens take for granted. What has been ignored in the outpouring of pessimistic analysis is that Soviet reformers are attempting what has until now been for them both unthinkable and impossible—they want to decentralize and re-structure their economy while holding onto traditional commitments to economic and social security.

As they begin to mix and balance rewards and needs, or social and private benefits, *perestroika* reformers are moving onto dangerous and frightening terrain. They cannot ignore the troubling possibility that their "newly liberated" entrepreneurs might acquire wealth and power beyond their numbers and go on to subvert the social security provided to the majority of the population. They must fear that ordinary citizens will consider the proposed changes a breach of a longstanding social contract. After all, the Soviet leadership has always tried to justify its policies and explain away the need for political oppression by focusing on advances toward equality and social justice.

To any American, offering people more money is the obvious way to get them to work harder, and Western scholars and journalists have paid particular attention to the statements of Soviet economists who are enamored of this idea. But when Gorbachov proposes individual income incentives he always refers as well to collective benefits in the form of better health-care facilities, sports clubs, gymnasiums and theaters. *Pravda* editorials frequently link increased productivity with "the creation of conditions that allow every worker to feel he is in charge of his enterprise."

Even Soviet "free market" economists like Nikolai Shmelev combine support for private incentives with demands for the establishment of workplace democracy, which Shmelev says will serve to "disabuse" enter-

prise executives of their "feudal" attitude toward plant employees. Abel Aganbegyan, head of "the Siberian Mafia" (the reform-minded scholars at the influential Siberian branch of the Academy of Sciences who are among Gorbachov's chief economic advisers), claims that workers free to participate in factory management on a democratic basis would work harder and identify more strongly with the economic performance of their plant.

Fairness: One of the most interesting critical perspectives on incentives comes from Siberian sociologist Tatiana Zaslavskaya, who points out that despite guarantees of universal free and compulsory secondary education, the Soviet Union does not adequately reward individual merit. Girls rather than boys from rural schools become dairymaids, while boys from mining settlements generally become miners regardless of the range and variation in their abilities and interests. According to Zaslavskaya, unless the life chances of Soviet citizens are more fair, more dependent on their own "knowledge, abilities and will," they will not be inclined to work to the best of their abilities. Considered in these pragmatic terms, social justice is not simply a moral ideal, but "a highly important source of creative energy, labor activity and economic initiative, and of the acceleration of social and economic development."

Like most of her colleagues, Zaslavskaya wants workers in social or state enterprises to receive a guaranteed minimum of housing, education and medical services, with all else paid for by the household/family unit. But even "income beyond the minimum" should not be market-driven. Instead, fair wage levels need to reflect a recognition that people—and their work situations—vary. A job's difficulty, the degree of strain involved, the social importance of the task, its harmfulness to the health of the worker, remoteness of the work area and the acuteness of the area labor shortage need to be taken into account.

Sociologists G. Sergeeva and L. Chizhova argue that within a national labor policy, differing standards should be applied to encourage and reward the contributions of women, the disabled, pensioners and the numerous non-Russian ethnic groups of the Soviet Union. The economist Shmelev, whose views on unemployment and economic efficiency have dominated Western press coverage of *perestroika*, de-

nounces across-the-board housing subsidies, because he believes that first consideration should instead be given to low-income families, to those with many children, disabilities or to those who have made special contributions to society.

In the Soviet context, such proposals are revolutionary in their rejection of long-standing economic traditions and in the pluralistic solutions they entail. For as Zaslavskaya and her supporters challenge traditional policy assumptions that link rapid economic growth to the degree of centralized planning, regimentation and the control of workers on the job, they are calling into question the most fundamental principles of a Stalinist "command economy." At the same time, they are raising precisely the issues that have troubled and divided proponents of change in the U.S. who are trying to sort out the competing claims of "across-the-board equality"—in the women's movement, for example—and the assertion that a particular group may have special needs and interests that deserve recognition.

Like most successful politicians, Gorbachov emphasizes the immediate issue (in this case, incentive) and assumes that the social norms of Soviet society are powerful enough to prevent the formation of "inordinately" wealthy elites. But others, particularly his more scholarly advisers, want economic limitations on enterprising individuals to be spelled out. The legal scholar B.P. Kurshavili proposes that "excessively" high income "capable of destabilizing the market" be moderated by a progressive tax. In no uncertain terms, Zaslavskaya has warned against the emergence of "petty-bourgeois nepmen" among the new practitioners of private enterprise. In her view, an income two, three or even four times higher than the level permitted in social production might be appropriate. But she calls a level 10 times higher "too much" and unjustifiable in human, social or political terms. Such proposals clearly indicate that *perestroika* reformers are acutely sensitive to the dangers of great inequality in wealth; but they also suggest that Soviet economists and sociologists are only in the initial stages of problem-solving on a very difficult issue. Zaslavskaya and her colleagues repeatedly emphasize that it will take many years of theorizing, strategizing and listening to the demands of Soviet citizens before a practical and broadly acceptable policy emerges.

Listening to the public: Aware that Soviet citizens must be convinced that proposed changes are in their interests, the reformers take reader response to their writings seriously. The complaints that pack the letters columns of *Pravda* and *Izvestia* these days provide astonishingly graphic and detailed descriptions of bureaucratic dishonesty and inefficiency. They also reveal a passionate faith in unchanging standards of social justice—the product of 70 years of government pronouncements. Soviet citizen-critics take for granted that decent shelter should not depend on ability to pay, that great wealth reflects greed rather than merit and that employment is a basic human right.

When economist Gennadii Lisichkin suggested in *Literaturnaya gazeta* that if you work hard and successfully you should receive more money, readers responded as if

he were advocating something immoral or indecent. As Lisichkin indignantly wrote, "It seemed to me that my view—that people who earn much have nothing to be ashamed of and even deserve encouragement—was so axiomatic that the majority of readers would accept it. But I was wrong."

Perhaps the reformers' most sensitive issues are unemployment and bankruptcy. To them economic efficiency requires the elimination of unprofitable enterprises even if jobs are lost or a powerful bureaucrat's faulty planning strategies are exposed to ridicule. Nikolai Shmelev, described by Western observers as a "voice of reason" (and by a Soviet skeptic as Russia's answer to Margaret Thatcher), has proposed that the government implement a strategy of planned unemployment at a rate of 2.5 to 3 percent. But even Shmelev takes it for granted that job reductions would not be accompanied by an "American-style" strategy of throwing workers out on the streets. (In a recent speech at Harvard's Russian Research Center, he suggested the need to retrain and shift "redundant" workers to factories operating below their desired capacity.) Gorbachov himself has repeatedly criticized Shmelev and rejected unemployment as a policy option.

Yet when economist V. Kostakov published an article on job reductions in *Sovetskaya kultura*, readers complained so much that the following month he wrote that a socialist economic system had to mean "rational," and not "make-work" efforts to meet essential material and non-material human needs. A rational plan would establish social and cultural services as the new growth sector of the economy, with new jobs created by expanding the number of pre-schools, mandating smaller class sizes with more teachers, and an expansion of the facilities for adult education. Kostakov particularly targets the problem of male workers, for whom, in his words, "the inclination to drink is a kind of compensation for the undeveloped state of their cultural needs." How displaced and hard-drinking workers might become students, educators or social service workers remains unclear, and recent announcements of possible layoffs are generating much anxiety. A January projection published in *Pravda* indicated that government ministries in Moscow alone are supposed to cut 100,000 workers. Last month, during his trip to the U.S., Aganbegyan said that Soviet economists were visiting Sweden to study their job retraining system.

Gorbachov and his supporters are gambling—without admitting it—that neither wage differentiation, bankruptcy nor the elimination of unnecessary jobs is incompatible with socialism. Reformers like the economist D. Palterovich claim that it is not bankruptcy but the "inhuman cruelty" of Western-style joblessness and the eagerness to place profit over all other considerations, that are the inherently capitalist practices alien to socialism. In his words, "Socialism's basic difference from exploiter systems lies not in organizational techniques and economic methods, not in the means it uses, but in its objectives and in the interests that social production serves. It takes exception solely to [the use of] inhuman means."

Esther Kingston-Mann is professor of history at the University of Massachusetts-Boston.

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'Humanitarian Aid': How It's Working Out

Soon after the Sapoia accord was signed between the government of Nicaragua and the contras, Congress passed a \$47.9 million aid package for the contras and "children who are victims of the Nicaraguan civil strife." At least half of this latter component was to be spent inside Nicaragua, with the rest going to children living outside of the country, whether in refugee camps or otherwise. All aid was to be inspected by a verification commission, to consist of Cardinal Obando y Bravo and Joao Baena Soares, head of the Organization of American States. The entire program was to be supervised by AID, the Agency for International Development, a branch of the State Department.

The way the congressional aid package is being implemented shows, as might have been expected, that the Reaganites are not ready to throw in the towel on their Nicaraguan policy. First, the "humanitarian" aid to the contras was not to be delivered until the contras had moved into seven cease-fire zones—in Nicaragua—to be created under the terms of the Sapoia accord. Until that takes place the contras are still an army in the field, and such aid as reaches them allows them to remain thus. With the help of an interagency task force (including a representative from the CIA) set up to help deliver this portion of the aid, AID has simply ignored this stricture. An agreement on the creation of the cease-fire zones has not been completed, but AID has already started deliveries to contra forces in Honduras, claiming that they are on the verge of starvation. Emaciated contras have been conjured up before by the Reagan administration when attempting to extort aid from Congress. A representative from one Private Voluntary Organization (PVO) monitoring the process said that there has been no independent assessment made of the condition of contra forces, so it is impossible to know if they are critically in need of food supplies.

President Ortega filed a formal protest to the OAS on April 7 saying that any supplies sent before the contras moved into the cease-fire zones would violate the Sapoia accord. The *New York Times* reported on April 28 that Soares had sent a letter to Secretary of State George Shultz three days earlier, stating that aid deliveries were indeed a breach of the cease-fire agreement. According to a variety of sources, though, including several on Capitol Hill, this is

Soares' second communication on the matter. After he received Ortega's protest, Soares forwarded it to AID, along with a cover letter saying he agreed with the concerns raised. This would have reached AID well before they began sending supplies to the contras. The Democratic leadership is furious with AID and is currently attempting to set up a meeting with Soares in order to get his views on record.

But by far the most grotesque aspect of AID's implementation of the congressional aid package regards the \$17.7 million to be spent for children who are victims of the war, a paradigmatically liberal venture, since the U.S. first paid to maim the children and is now funding their artificial limbs and other related rehabilitation. There is already a fine little facility for false limbs in Managua, set up by the Red Cross.

According to Section 8 of the congressional legislation, at least half of the money is to be provided through private voluntary and international relief organizations inside Nicaragua, this to prevent all of the moneys going toward children in Honduran refugee camps and other countries in the region, as liberals suspected would occur if not expressly forbidden. But to appease conservatives, a second section was tacked on stipulating that none of the assistance "may be provided to or through the government of Nicaragua." This was widely read to mean that the funds could not be allocated directly to the Nicaraguan government.

Private voluntary organizations wanting to help distribute the aid had to submit applications, and AID held a meeting on April 8, at which the situation was to be discussed and the ground rules for applications were delivered. According to Jim Matlack, Washington director of the American Friends Service Committee, these ground rules had 10 criteria, the first nine of which were relatively reasonable. But the last said that any organization that filed an application had to "have the ability to independently deliver services without providing assistance to or through the Nicaraguan government." It became clear during discussion of this point that AID officials, who claimed that they were merely relying on the advice of their legal counsel, interpreted this section to mean that the voluntary organizations could not work through or cooperate with any part of the existing na-

tional health-care system in Nicaragua, including hospitals and clinics.

As there is only one private hospital in Nicaragua, and there are very few private practitioners, and the medical assistance to be provided includes complicated medical procedures, including reconstructive surgery, this interpretation is absurdly restrictive. When pressed on the point, AID officials say that the voluntary organizations had two options. First, they could create a totally self-contained MASH-style unit, which could fly to deliver the services. The other option, they said, with no apparent shame, was to take the children out of Nicaragua and treat them in El Salvador or Honduras. Any type of collaborative work with Nicaraguan health workers was ruled out. After the meeting, representatives from a number of voluntary organizations contacted staff members of Democratic congressmen who worked on the aid package. They said that AID's interpretation was much too restrictive and inconsistent with the intention of the bill.

AID also gave the voluntary organizations scant time to prepare their proposals, with groups receiving applications less than a week before they were due. Church World Services, which has done excellent work in Nicaragua, declined to take part in the program; but even if the organization had

The administration is doing its best to frustrate the will of Congress.

wanted to it would have been impossible, as its two key staffers were out of the country during the brief period AID gave the private voluntary organizations to draw up their plans. Oscar Bolioli, the group's director for Latin America, said that he had contacted Dr. Gustavo Paragon, president of CEPAD, a relief agency connected with Protestant churches in Nicaragua and Church World Services' counterpart agency in Nicaragua. Paragon was not happy with the program and felt that the restriction on working with Nicaraguan government agencies made no sense. Bolioli said his group was anxious to assist victims of the war, but not under the ground rules established by AID. He also thought there was a serious contradiction in the congressional aid

package, as it "continues funding the people who are creating the victims."

At least one other group chose not to submit a proposal, as it felt it was impossible to devise a thoughtful program in so short a time. Matlack concluded that AID staffers "were either incredibly naive or wanted to derail the idea of assisting Nicaraguan children."

These developments have been a rosy gloss in the mainstream press. Stephen Kinzer's article in the *New York Times* on April 24 bore the benign headline, "U.S. Presses Nicaraguan Children's Aid," as if a heroic humanitarian effort were underway. The article itself represented only slight improvement over this beginning, with the most glaring error being Kinzer's contention that the "legislation [passed by Congress]...specifies that the children's aid delivered inside Nicaragua cannot be provided to the Sandinista government or delivered through it," before acknowledging that this would make it difficult for the aid to be delivered. Thus, the average reader would conclude that AID was merely carrying out the will of Congress and not—as is the case—effectively subverting it. Also, Kinzer put great emphasis on the speed with which AID is moving, thereby implying that the U.S. is predominantly concerned with the rapid treatment of Nicaraguan children. In this case, as seen above, haste is an obstacle, not a boon, to the effective implementation of this program.

The shipment of supplies to the contras was also tranquilly reported. An article by Joe Pichirallo in the April 21 *Washington Post* noted the controversy involved but quoted a "congressional aide" who said, "AID officials have been in regular contact with Capitol Hill and, so far, appear sincere in their desire to comply with Congress."

Intentionally or not, AID's actions, particularly the early delivery of supplies to contra forces in Honduras, have succeeded in provoking a response from Nicaragua. Carlos Tunnerman, ambassador to the United States, was recalled to Managua last week for consultations, and Ortega has protested the shipment of supplies. The most cynical interpretation, and one likely to be correct based on past history, is that AID has come under pressure from the administration, and is complicit in a final attempt to derail the Sapoia accord. Thus, the Reagan administration appeared determined to make one final effort to prevent what it considered to be the unhappy prospect of an end to the bloodshed and suffering in Nicaragua. ■

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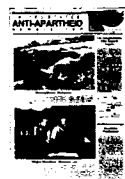
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By Kathryn Phillips

GLORIA ALLRED, LOS ANGELES feminist attorney, is on the television screen, sitting beside three of her clients. Their cases are quintessential Allred fare.

One, a teen-ager, was rejected for high school cheerleader because a teacher thought her breasts were too

LAW

large. Another, a single mother, was told that neither she nor any other mother could accompany their sons to Boy Scout parent/child camp. A third, a former police department secretary, says she was harassed with detailed questioning about her sex life during a polygraph test required for a promotion to records clerk.

"He [the polygraph operator] started the conversation off with, 'Relax, we all know that masturbation is a normal thing,'" the former secretary says.

The show's host, Sally Jessy Raphael, turns to Allred, a veteran of dozens—perhaps hundreds—of talk shows, press conferences and public debates. Allred can summarize in made-for-quotation language and made-for-television 30-second bites. For Raphael's audience, Allred delivers what sounds like a crowd-rousing speech at a feminist pep rally.

"We're very proud of these women who are willing to stand up and fight back and not let their privacy be invaded," the television Allred says, her words growing progressively louder and faster. "They shouldn't have to choose between having a job and sacrificing their privacy about their sex life."

Crowd control: The East Coast studio audience, unfamiliar with this Los Angeles fixture, is a beat slow to respond. She prods. "Do you agree?" The audience claps. By the end of the 60-minute taping, they need no prodding—they cheer and clap on cue. Allred has won them over, just as she has won over hundreds of California women and men in the last decade as she has become the state's most flamboyant and best-known feminist crusader against inequality.

The live Gloria Allred, taking a break from regular duties at her Los Angeles law firm, sits in a wing chair in front of a television set in a colleague's office. She watches the show, taped a month earlier, intently. When Raphael introduces the television Allred, describing her as being "like somebody you see on a sitcom on television," the live Allred, looking smaller, more subdued than the television version, smiles faintly.

"I have very articulate clients and I'm very proud of them," the live Allred says during a commercial break, deflecting attention away from her own performance. "A lot of



Feminist attorney Gloria Allred: a pragmatic firebrand.

Gloria Allred wins by pressing issues

attorneys don't let their clients speak. I think it's very important to give clients an opportunity to participate in the process of educating the public about how women are damaged when they are wronged, when they are objects of injustice.... I certainly can be a voice, but I want other women to know that you don't have to be a lawyer to stand up for your rights. The typical person out there can also take action to right the wrongs."

Allred says all of this with barely a pause to catch her breath. She is intense and determined and holds little back when talking about her No. 1 cause: women's rights.

Her sometimes flamboyant—even strident—determination, her effective courting of the media, and her mastery of the symbolic gesture, have helped her win national attention as well as criticism.

The right's worst nightmare: In one of her most famous attention-grabbing acts, Allred dramatically presented a chastity belt to the notoriously right-wing former California State Senator John Schmitz during 1981 legislative hearings he held to stir opposition to abortion. The act prompted mixed reactions from feminists. Schmitz responded by calling Allred a "slick butch lawyeress," and Allred slapped the politician with a lawsuit and demanded an apology. Schmitz ultimately was censured by the legislature and agreed to settle the lawsuit by paying Allred \$20,000. Needless to say, she got the apology.

Allred wins battles often enough to be a threat to the subtlest bigot. Sometimes it seems no case is too small for Allred. One of her most widely publicized cases involved a complaint against a laundry that was charging more to wash a woman's shirt than to wash the same sort of man's shirt. Almost immediately, the laundry dropped its unequal pricing policy and Allred's client dropped

her lawsuit.

"I will do whatever is legal and peaceful to accomplish the result for my client," Allred says. "I just think it's wrong when people are taken advantage of and are victims of injustice."

Most of her highly publicized challenges are aimed at sexism, but Allred also tackles other forms of discrimination. For Hispanic clients she successfully challenged a municipal court rule forbidding clerks from speaking Spanish during work hours. Allred has represented gay and lesbian clients in a number of rights cases, winning for this straight woman a heroine's status in the gay and lesbian community.

Grating expectations: Over the last 10 years, she has devoted special attention to child-support issues, working both through legislation and the courts. That commitment grew from her own experience as a young single mother, she said.

"I've been doing this for 10, 12 years," she says, "and I feel even

'I want other women to know that you don't have to be a lawyer to stand up for your rights. The typical person out there can also take action to right the wrongs.'

more strongly now than when I started, because now I see that the extent and scope of [discrimination and sexism] is worse than I had ever imagined in any of my dreams or nightmares.

"We've raised the expectations of women in this country to a new

high level. They have an expectation that they will have equality and that they will be free of discrimination and that they will be treated fairly. And every day, they are disappointed. They are betrayed, promises are broken and their hearts are broken. I just think it has to end."

Allred's own life has in some ways reflected those rising expectations.

She was born 46 years ago in Philadelphia, the only child of a door-to-door salesman and a homemaker. She married during her sophomore year in college and had an infant daughter and a broken marriage by the time she graduated. For several years she and her daughter lived with her parents, while Allred taught at a boys' high school in Philadelphia and worked a couple of nights a week at the Cerebral Palsy Foundation.

NYU epiphany: She also commuted to evening classes at New York University to earn a masters degree in education. During a class at NYU Allred had an experience that proved pivotal to her development as a feminist.

"I never had any concept that there was anything wrong with the way women were treated as a class or individually. I just had this great awakening one day," Allred recalls. "I was sitting in a class...and I remember a philosophy teacher said to me, 'Have you ever thought about asserting your own rights? You're always talking about civil rights in the schools that you teach in, the black high schools.... What about your own rights?' I said, 'What are you talking about? What rights? What rights don't I have?' He said, 'As a woman,' and I had no idea what he meant by that, and here I was a graduate student."

After she received her masters, she moved with her daughter to Los Angeles and taught, became active in the teachers' union and then decided, when she was 30, to go to law school.

In 1976, Allred and two law-school classmates, Michael Maroko and Nathan Goldberg, began a family law practice that today includes 15 attorneys and bills more than \$1.5 million annually. The firm handles divorces, employment discrimination and civil cases. Allred and her firm's attorneys handle many of the high-profile anti-discrimination cases pro bono, she says.

Materially, the law business has been good to Allred. Now single again after a second marriage, she lives in the upscale Pacific Palisades, drives a Mercedes-Benz and has joined the exclusive and once male-only Friars Club.

Asked why she joined the Friars Club, with which she has recently had disputes over membership privileges for women, Allred quips, "They have a great Cobb salad.

Once you've had a Friars Club Cobb salad you want to have it again."

The law practice has also given her the tools and backing to pursue her causes. Clearly, for Allred the anti-discrimination and women's rights cases are more than just good works.

"I have a daughter. I would like a different world for her. I'd like a different world for my mother and myself. I have a stake in this—I don't just do this for other people," she says.

Holding court: Allred has been criticized, particularly by other lawyers, for courting the media. She holds press conferences almost weekly, at times. Reporters always attend, and it's no wonder. Allred nearly always delivers a lively story.

When Raphael raised this criticism during Allred's appearance on her talk show, the attorney won enthusiastic applause from the mostly female audience for her reply: "Some people think women should suffer in silence. I'm not one of them."

Critics also have complained that too many of Allred's cases attack trivial issues. The laundry case often is cited as an example.

"Now, I don't think it's trivial," Allred says, clearly irritated by a charge she has heard before. "I think it's outrageous that women are paid less than men as a group, and now, to add insult to injury...they've got to pay more for services out of the little, paltry wages they earn. I mean, I don't think that's trivial at all."

Moreover, cases like the laundry dispute drive home just how, in tangible ways, discrimination can affect everyone. And sometimes, something will happen to suggest that Allred's message is being heard and appreciated.

A few months ago, Allred recalls, she was driving home in a tough neighborhood in Los Angeles. She needed to make a call and her car phone wasn't working so she stopped at an outdoor pay phone. As she prepared to dial, a group of men in hard hats approached her and started to surround her. She was concerned at first.

"They just came right up to me and got almost up to my nose and looked me in the eye and said, 'Are you Gloria Allred?' I said, 'Yeah.' And they said, 'Right on! Keep on fighting!'" Allred raises her fist for emphasis, laughing.

"That was really nice," she said, serious again. "I think a lot of people really do have a sense that I'm standing up for the typical people of this world. So, they may agree with me; they may not agree with me—but they really have a sense that I'm doing what I think is right, that I'm really trying to help people. And I am trying to help people...that's all. That's what it's all about."

Love in the Time of Cholera
By Gabriel García Márquez
Translated by Edith Grossman
Alfred A. Knopf, 348 pp., \$18.95

By Dan Bellm

Gabriel García Márquez: the sickness is the cure

SINCE ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF *Solitude* was first published in 1967, two innocent words have fluttered around its author like the yellow butterflies that pursued the hapless character Mauricio Babilonia: "magical realism." But that vague formulation has tended to define the work of Gabriel García Márquez in terms of tropical hallucination: Spanish galleons anchored in the heart of the jungle, women who ascend bodily into heaven, plagues of insomnia, babies born with the tails of pigs. Beguiled by such sorcery, we can easily miss the far humbler source of his creative power, a radiant compassion.

Nowhere in García Márquez' work is his compassion as clear, or as surprising, as in *Love in the Time of Cholera*—his 10th book to appear in English. *Love in the Time of Cholera*—translated so gracefully by Edith Grossman that one hardly misses the past work of Gregory Rabassa—is a nostalgic turn-of-the-century novel of manners set in an unnamed Colombian port town. The magic this time is the redemptive power of love, a secret love that waits an entire lifetime to be fulfilled. **Real magicalism:** For those who look to García Márquez as a progressive voice in Latin American politics, his next body of work may hold more appeal: a novel based on the life of Simón Bolívar, the films he is helping develop as director of the Foundation of New Latin American Cinema in Havana, or his new monologue-play called *Diatribes of Love Against a Seated Man*. As he recently described this play to the *New York Times*, "An angry woman is telling her husband everything that passes through her head. It goes on for two hours. He is sitting in a chair reading a newspaper and doesn't react at all." Yet *Love in the Time of Cholera* is no light romantic interlude. As a storyteller García Márquez has never been more captivating—or more thoroughly maddening.

One Sunday afternoon, Dr. Juvenal Urbino—a pillar of the community who at 81 has become more of an ornament, a doctor of hopeless cases—meets an awkward but memorable death: falling from a ladder while trying to capture his talking parrot from the branches of a mango tree. He had made an exasperated peace with the world, and with 50 years of a marriage founded on "simple incomprehension"; now his magnificent, strong-willed wife Fermina Daza must resign herself to the dignified chill of widowhood.

But one old man in the funeral crowd is still restless for life to begin. Florentino Ariza, hat over heart,

steps forward to declare, "Fermina, I have waited for this opportunity for more than half a century, to repeat to you once again my vow of eternal fidelity and everlasting love." Fermina Daza throws him out of the house in a fury, but finds the next morning that "while she slept, sobbing, she had thought more about Florentino Ariza than about her dead husband."

Not that her marriage was unhappy—or rather, no unhappier than anyone else's. For all her social prominence, it's true, she had be-

FICTION

come a "deluxe servant" to her husband; less charitably, one woman labels her "the lowest kind of whore...by virtue of marrying a man she does not love for money." In old age Fermina Daza settled for the "wisdom" of finding love in mutual dependence, or plain endurance, while lamenting that "wisdom comes to us when it can no longer do any good."

The body count: You see what's coming. Romance—utterly uncivilized and unwise. But Florentino Ariza's half-century of waiting, to which the story now turns, is no 50 years of solitude; this "poor man" no one seems to know, "ugly and sad" in his old-fashioned clothes, has kept himself very busy. The great departure of *Love in the Time of Cholera* (surprising not just for García Márquez, but for the whole reticent body

of Latin American literature) is all the sex—raunchy, joyful, thrilling, and not just for the men involved. It is also mighty troubling, and for plenty of readers the offense may outweigh the pleasure.

"My heart has more rooms than a whorehouse," Florentino Ariza observes in a rare moment of introspection. And he manages the house with impeccable discretion, swearing to each and every woman that she has been his only lover, while keeping the one room he's reserved for Fermina roped off like a chapel. In 50 years, "with the rigor of a notary," he compiles 25 notebooks labeled *Women*, with "622 entries of long-term liaisons, apart from the countless fleeting adventures that did not even deserve a charitable note." His "musketeers' motto" both comforts and absolves him: "Unfaithful but not disloyal."

García Márquez has claimed not to have "an ounce of machismo" in his body, and Florentino Ariza would probably say the same for himself. No ruthless Casanova, he rather resembles Lord Byron's Don Juan: an average fellow unchanged by experience, untroubled by guilt, likeable but impossible to care for profoundly, a man who can meet each new danger fearlessly because he scarcely remembers the past. In Florentino Ariza's world, as in Don Juan's, women are more often than not the aggressors, starting with the one who "stripped him, without glory, of his virginity" one hot night

on a riverboat; he is simply on hand to cool their fever.

Lovesick: The fever can be fatal, like the plague that appears sporadically along the Caribbean coast over all these years. As a young man, devastated by the charms of Fermina Daza, Florentino found that "the symptoms of love were the same as those of cholera": diarrhea, green vomit, "the hoarse breathing and the pale perspiration of a dying man." The metaphors of plague abound. The sexual gymnast Ausencia Santander makes love while "droning like a horsefly...[a] slimy marsh [flowing] from her womb." Miss Barbara Lynch, a Jamaican mulatta, drives poor Dr. Urbino nearly mad: her genitals are a "mangrove swamp," a "deathbed," a "dark bush," a "hellish circle."

The love of Fermina is the one love of Florentino's life "immunized by death against all contagion." When he can finally woo her in old age he declares, "I've remained a virgin for you"—a lie which Fermina

The real magic this time is the redemptive power of a secret love that waits a lifetime to be fulfilled.

graciously forgives for its elegance—but he truly believes the illusion that his slate is clean and his heart is pure. As for those 622 women, not counting those who don't count, was sex so completely without consequence? Well, no: at least two of them have been completely destroyed.

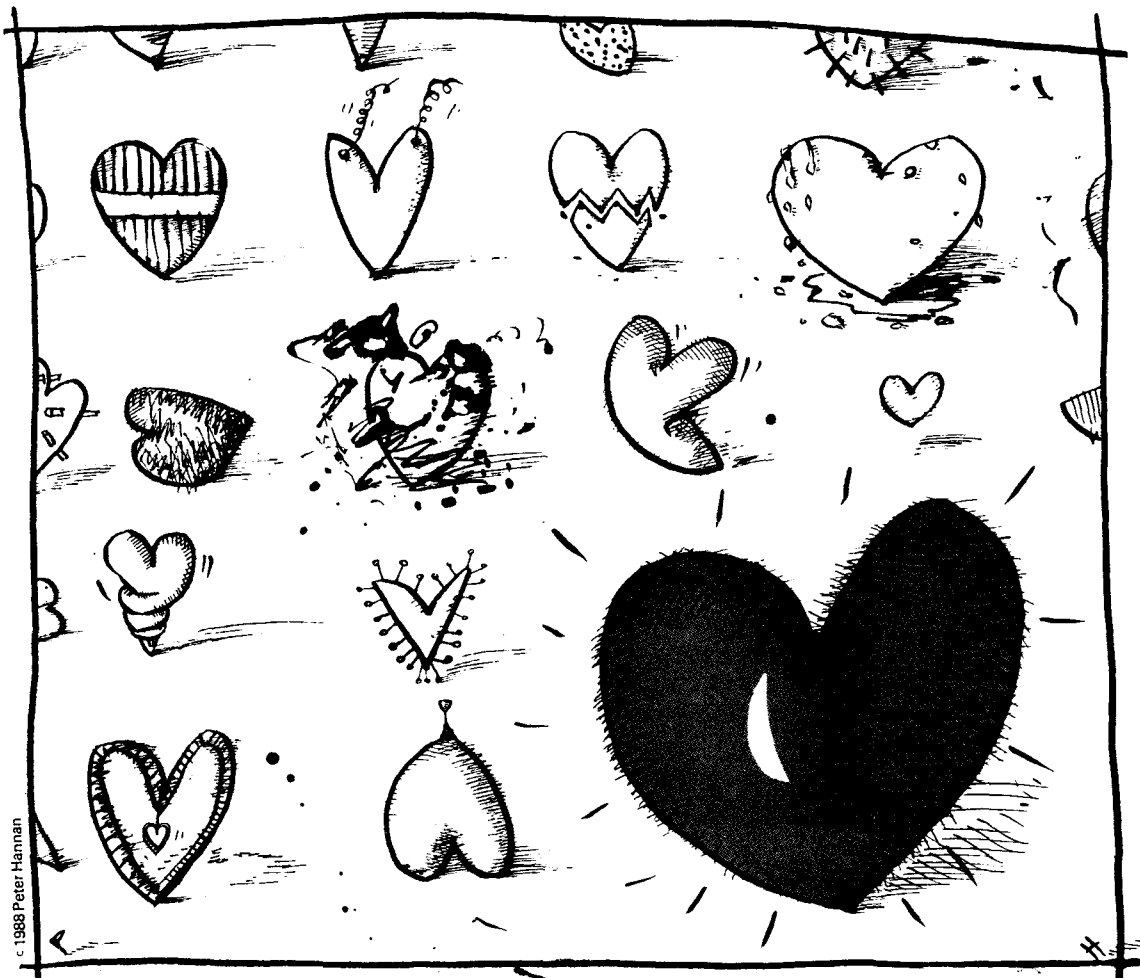
Try weighing these cases for an ouch of machismo: In "a sudden inspiration," Florentino wets his index finger with red paint and writes on the belly of Olimpia Zuleta, "with an arrow of blood pointing south...the words: *This pussy is mine*." Then she forgets to wash it off and undresses in front of her husband, who slits her throat with a razor: the end.

Later Florentino becomes the trusted guardian of a 14-year-old schoolgirl named America Vicuña, then seduces her with ice cream and visits to the zoo, undressing her "one article of clothing at a time, with little baby games: first these little shoes for the little baby bear, then this little chemise for the little puppy dog, next these little flowered panties for the little bunny rabbit, and a little kiss on her papa's delicious little dicky-bird." While Florentino thinks of all this as a "restorative perversion"—handy concept—the girl finds herself engulfed in love, then cast aside. García Márquez doesn't have the excuse of living in the 19th century; nowadays we call this behavior what it is, the sexual abuse of children.

"I don't really like him," the author said of Florentino in a recent interview. "I think he is very selfish, like all men are." But the distance between narrative voice and lovesick hero is hard to detect in the reading; we erase his distasteful lapses and cheer him on. In the book's exquisite final section, the courtship of Florentino and Fermina at an age when their lives would seem to be over, García Márquez is generous with forgiveness, and forgetfulness. And the confounding truth of *Love in the Time of Cholera* is that the magic works.

As Florentino and Fermina embark on a riverboat trip up the once grand, now dying Magdalena, we realize suddenly how much time we have spent confined in small rooms or within the abstracted torments of a few characters' minds: now the whole world expands, and everything is possible. Call it wishful to observe that "love is more solid the closer it comes to death." Call it unthinkable that Fermina would forgive her lover's past if she knew it all: talk about a two-hour *Diatribes of Love*! None of the pain is gone. Nightmares show Florentino his scars. Swollen corpses float past the boat downriver to the sea. But the enchantment of the voyage is irresistible, and love's wise old age, don't ask how, is everlasting. ■

Dan Bellm has written on Latin American literature for the *Village Voice* and the *San Francisco Chronicle*.



Dear America: Letters Home from Vietnam
Directed by Bill Couturie

Viet Nam Experience
Directed by Daniel Keller and Joe McDonald

The Secret Agent
Directed by Jacki Ochs

By Pat Aufderheide

Re-visioning the TV war makes for ravishing reruns

V IETNAM VERITÉ: "EVERY SCENE, every shot in the film is real. Nothing has been re-enacted," says the opening scrawl.

Dear America: Letters Home from Vietnam—an HBO documentary that debuted in April, is also being shown around college campuses and will, after its cable run, show in theaters—stakes its claim to truth early. And it's a wise caution. A movie that appears modelled on music video formats and that so expertly crafts emotional drama needs to remind its viewers that it's all true.

As we launch into a season of ABC's Vietnam "dramedy" *China Beach*, and after the recent rash of Vietnam feature films, it seems almost like a flashback to get a documentary. It had seemed we were ready for fiction to tell us stories that turned chaotic emotion into coherent narrative—or at least (as was the case in *Platoon*) into a tale of conflict between the drive to narrative and the brutal pointlessness of experience. In a way, though, *Dear America*, with its emotional distillation of the past, continues the trend

set by fiction films.

Hearts, minds and grunts: Way back in 1974 Peter Davis' Oscar-winning documentary *Hearts and Minds* both recalled and analyzed a war policy that had become a national open sore. Poking at political choices and consequences the way it did, the film was treated with gingerly respect and has been more talked about than seen since.

In contrast, *Dear America* will get a wide audience and is likely to have

FILM

a long shelf life. That's not just because the times are different—although it is made in and for another generation. It's because the film is tightly focused on the direct experience of Vietnam "grunts" and sticks closely to its theme—that, as director Bill Couturie puts it (see accompanying interview), "War means young men die." This is a movie that everyone weeps at. It's a specific instance of War Is Hell.

You don't watch *Dear America* in order to understand why we were in Vietnam. The film's mission is to bring you into the lives—as carefully laundered in letters home to Mom,

Sis and Best Girl—of the 19-year-olds and their buddies who ended up there.

Beyond MTV: *Dear America* has been called a music video, but that description is a loose fit. Couturie creates a pastiche of found sounds and images, not to ransack the past for nostalgic decoration of an eternal present (which is the way most music videos use historical images), but to re-imagine the past. The highly-worked version of reality may or may not be accurate and its interpretation arguable. Certainly it builds its point of view into the selection and editing of material rather than laying it out in narration. But it's not the sensationalist exploitation of real-life images that you can see regularly by turning on MTV.

The narration is composed of letters from soldiers in Vietnam, as originally collected by Bernard Edelman in a book of the same name and read by actors—famous ones, like Michael J. Fox, Robert DeNiro, Kathleen Turner and Robin Williams; and unfamous ones, themselves Vietnam vets. (Co-producer Tom Bird, artistic director of the Vietnam Veterans Ensemble Theater Company, arranged for many of the actors.)

Rock and R&B from the era—The Band, Buffalo Springfield, Sam Cooke, the Doors, the Stones, Hendrix, Marvin Gaye, Dylan—dominate

the soundtrack. The nostalgia-laden sounds both locate the voices of the veterans and pull us back into their terror-filled adolescence. Unlike, say, the way Kubrick used '60s music in *Full Metal Jacket*—as a literal blast from the past—the sound here pervades the action.

Images come primarily from NBC News' archives. (And here let's have two cheers for conglomeration—when GE bought NBC, GE mandated

The average age of soldiers serving in Vietnam was 19.



Bill Couturie makes the trek from rockumentary video to epistolary feature film

Bill Couturie, director, co-writer and co-producer of *Dear America: Letters from Vietnam*, is a veteran of documentary filmmaking. Among his early credits are as associate producer of the 1978 ABC classic *Who Are the DeBolts?*; he later won Emmys and a Peabody award for his 1982 *Vietnam Requiem*. He spoke to *In These Times* while at the San Francisco Film Festival, where the film sold out two showings and left audiences, including many local Vietnam vets, in tears.

How did you get interested in making *Dear America*?

It really came out of '19' the music video I was the lyricist on. We called it '19' because that was the average age of a soldier in Vietnam. The video ended up No. 1 in Europe, and was banned from MTV. NBC wanted it toned down—they said it was "too unbalanced." Then when *West 57th* did a piece on it, they showed the video to a lot of 19-year-olds. Remember, this was before *Platoon*. The bottom line for me was that today's youth didn't know anything about Vietnam. Kids today were ready to play Rambo in another war.

Then HBO came to me with the idea for a film that was about Vietnam's heroes. It was after the big

march in 1985. I wasn't interested in making a movie about heroes—that just wasn't the way I saw the war. But one day I came across this book of letters, and I said, "Eureka, this is it, this is how to do it." Eventually they bought it, but the production people never really got behind the idea—especially as the budget grew. It ended up costing a little more than a million dollars, mostly for salary for editors and researchers. Our support came from up top, from the president of the company.

Did you serve in Vietnam?

No. I was a hippie anti-war activist but I was never one of those people who blamed them for their participation. I thought they were taking it on the front lines. I wondered whether people would be hostile toward me because I hadn't gone to Vietnam. I'd explain that I had been 4F, and people would say, "Hey, be glad you didn't go." No one resented it.

I know there's supposed to be a resurgence among vets of an attitude that says if we had had more resources we could have won the war. But I found the more combat these guys went through, the more antiwar they became. Maybe it's because we were making a film from the perspective of a grunt.

That attitude was more among what they called the REMFs, the Rear Echelon M.F.ers. These guys had much more respect for the enemy than they had for the REMFs.

Was it hard to pull together the visual material?

I had nightmares for a year looking at this stuff. We did find amazing material, like that first firefight. And the color photo of the body of one lieutenant who was killed three weeks after he had written a letter home—that was taken by a man who took the photo after the ambush of 22 men, and then himself was killed minutes later when they were pulling the bodies out. The photograph was in his camera; we had to get it from his mother.

The families were very supportive. Their attitude was generally that if the deaths of their sons and husbands could be used in some way to help people remember, so we wouldn't have to repeat it, then their deaths would have some kind of meaning. That's what the film is about, too—if we can remember, maybe we can avoid doing it again.

Was there any material you wanted to use and couldn't?

Yes, there was one letter that a man had written to a daughter who was born while he was in Vietnam. Like

a lot of people, he had a premonition that he might not come back, and he had written a goodbye letter to her. Well, that girl is now a sophomore in college, and this is the only thing she has from her daddy. She just couldn't deal with it—she was supportive of the project but didn't want to give up the letter.

Did you have problems working with the stars?

No, and the stars I've heard from love the film. I almost lost my agent over this, though. He loved the big names, but when he saw the film in process, he said, "Where are they?" because they're not I.D.ed. In fact their contribution is as good actors—it's very hard to read letters. You can't project; it's an interior monologue.

There was talk that this film might be nominated for an Oscar in the documentary category. Why do you think it wasn't?

The documentary committee is very old guard. I think the average age is 65 years old. And they have a horror of what they call the "MTVization of documentaries," which they see in shows like *20/20*. So for these people *Dear America* is their worst nightmare come to life.

But you know, 19-year-olds fought that war to rock'n'roll. They'd been sent to Vietnam to kill people, and that was not cool in the '60s. They were isolated, estranged. When I talked to the vets, I found that two things had been important to them: mail call and music. It made them feel connected.

The film stays on an emotional rather than a political level.

Yes, and some people have criticized the film for not being political. I say, first of all, the definitive political film was made already. It's *Hearts and Minds* and it's great. I also think that everyone now agrees it was a bad war. What we wanted to do is to make a movie about being a young soldier in that war.

Do you think of it as an anti-war movie?

I'm not saying we should not fight wars. I think it would be great if we didn't, but I don't see it in the cards. But I did want to make a movie that says, look at the cost and the pain. This is what war means. It means young men die. Look at the cost and then ask yourself, is it worth the price? Because this is the price.

—Pat Aufderheide

that the archives look for ways to turn a profit on old footage.) The Couturie editing crew, including people like Gary Weimberg, a director and editor of several left-wing documentaries on Central American issues, looked through more than 2 million feet of film. They used close-ups of soldiers, something long forbidden because close-ups were classified on government footage until recently and commercial network footage followed the government's lead.

Shocking: The editing, overseen by Stephen Stept, has an eerie magic. Shots are found and matched up with other shots, voices and music in ways that create intense, synoptic moments. The raw material itself is shocking, chastening, revealing—a terrifying daylight raid, caught by accident by an NBC photographer who only intended to go for a safe stroll; a hospital amputation scene; GIs in hysterical relief when they find out they can go home; simple sights of old photographs sent to family. But the way it's been worked and matched with other visual and aural material turns the film into an insider's emotional voyage.

And it is a voyage with a strong helmsman. The progress of the tightly-organized narrative is measured by annual statistics of American dead and wounded. The story begins in sunlight, as GIs cavort on the beaches; goes through terror despair and darkness with mounting deaths; and ends with homecoming. There is also a coda: a devastating letter read by Ellen Burstyn, from a mother to her son whose name is inscribed on the Vietnam Memorial wall. It's a reminder that death does not end pain, that the phrase "young men die" is shorthand for much wider catastrophes.

Missing: If you step back from the emotional wreckage the film both chronicles and recreates, it is possible to see what the film leaves out. This is a Vietnam experience without



Dear America: Letters Home from Vietnam—a particular instance of war is hell.

drugs, without racial tension. Without fragging. Without Vietnamese deaths. Without the black handshakes, the peace symbols on grunts' jackets and the ad-hoc, in-the-field peace treaties near the end. Barely touched on are soldiers' reactions to anti-war protest.

Couturie is aware of what's not in the movie. He says that drugs don't appear in the film because you don't write home about them, and the film is structured around soldiers' letters. His many conversations with veterans lead him to believe that racial incidents, like heavy drug use, were

more common in the rear guard than in combat, where your buddy's ability to perform well was the

A letter to today's potential soldiers and a scrapbook for those who lived through Vietnam.

paramount issue. (A recent letter to the *Village Voice* from Vietnam vet Manuel Mendez echoes Couturie's

words: "My squad was composed of three blacks, two white Hispanics, two mulatto Hispanics and two poor whites from southern Pennsylvania—the one common denominator was poverty.")

On other points, Couturie says he fought HBO, most vigorously on acknowledging the millions of Vietnamese deaths. HBO nixed it, saying that the implied comparison would draw away from the central theme of the film. He also lost a fight to include a section from a Martin Luther King Jr. speech which would have linked King's criticism of the war to a black soldier's reference to him in a letter.

Dear America: Letters Home from Vietnam is a cautious close-up of the war. Yet even as the film sticks to a narrow task, it also presents the soldier in Vietnam not as a victim or a culprit, but as a subject struggling to survive and make sense of the experience.

The film is a letter to young potential soldiers today, and a scrapbook for those who lived through the era. It opened a benefit for Vietnam veterans on the day U.S. troops entered Honduras in March. The number of troops sent echoed the figures for 1965, where *Dear America* begins.

Music video, home video: Do you recognize this line from a popular song: "Whoopee, we're all gonna die"? If so, there's a music video for you.

Unlike *Dear America*, *Viet Nam Experience* frankly bills itself as a music video. It's a very distant cousin to the superhip image scrambling of most music videos, though. The 30-minute video features

songs about the war and its aftermath written and performed by Country Joe McDonald, from the sardonic, angry "Fixin' to Die Rag" through "Secret Agent," about long-term dioxin effects, to the limpid "Welcome Home." They evoke the course of the war and its aftermath from the perspective of countercultural anti-war protesters and, increasingly, Vietnam veterans.

Presented in chronological succession, the songs move from tones of rage to pathos and empathy. Commercial news and government footage (some of the same as that used by *Dear America*), as well as clips from independent films such as the analytically and emotionally powerful *The Secret Agent* (about dioxin, its long-range effects and how social decisions were made to employ it at home and at war) illustrates the songs, without much editing flash. Anchored as it is to McDonald's sung rendition of Vietnam-era issues, the visual material doesn't claim to represent a comprehensive reality, but only to evoke context.

The video signals attempts among independent producers and distributors to adapt to new market conditions and the potential of home video. Green Mountain Post Films, a veteran distributor on socially-critical and environmental themes, originally intended (and priced) the tape for home video, although it has also been shown at film festivals and non-theatrically. Also available on home video from GMP is *The Secret Agent*. (For more information on Green Mountain Post Films, contact GMP, Box 229, Turners Falls, MA 01376, (413) 863-4754. ■

Macabre humor and everyday atrocities were essential parts of the Vietnam experience.



Philippines

Continued from page 13

he said, it was increasingly difficult to recruit supporters to the CPP/NPA's National Democratic Front: much of the middle class still wanted to give President Corazon Aquino a chance, and the flow of money was drying up. Even recruitment of fighters among peasants was tougher now than under ousted dictator Ferdinand Marcos, and the fighters he had were less interested in political work than in killing soldiers and seizing guns. The ones around us seemed to spend most of their free time cleaning their M-16s.

Llamas' dilemma, as we spoke, seemed to be this: on the one hand, the Aquino regime has, at least temporarily, taken away the NPA's political initiative; on the other hand, escalation of the NPA's military effort risks alienating the people whose support the rebels need. But what is the alternative to escalation? A campaign of bridge bombings in Bicol last year had dismayed some supporters of the Communists; even Llamas' parents had scolded him. But he was unapologetic.

"That is one of the sad realities of war. You can maximize gain, calculate effects, but this blowing up, sabotage, will always be a part of the game. Somehow the people must learn how to adjust to the situation. There is terrorism; there is violence. But we use these to counter a more systematic terrorism and violence of the state."

He indicated that the bridge bombings and the killing of two U.S. servicemen last fall were intended to destabilize the regime on the heels of the almost-successful August coup attempt by disgruntled members of the military. At the same time, he clearly saw the danger of self-isolation in all this. But

when one of us suggested that the Philippines is not in a "revolutionary situation" and the time may not now be ripe for armed struggle, Llamas balked.

"Whatever forces of the past years we have mastered, we must maintain. If you lose your arms, you lose your identity. You have no one to talk to. It is unnatural—like asking the elephant to remove [its tusks]. Even the pope would not approve if the elephant does this."

Life under Aquino: The Communists and their supporters insist that nothing has improved for the country since Corazon Aquino took power in February 1986. They say that under Aquino the situation is the same as it was under Marcos, or even worse. But *something* has changed, and many independent-minded Filipinos, including leftists, say so. It is the reason why the Bicol NPA is on the defensive.

The Aquino government has failed miserably where it counts most—in land reform, real democratization, control of the military and human rights. In over a year, since the cease-fire with the rebels collapsed, it has moved to the right and has shown increasing dependence on militarism. But in the same period a liberal constitution was overwhelmingly approved and a congress was elected in which radical views not heard in government in 15 years are argued. Furthermore, Manila's daily newspapers attack the Aquino administration with more vigor than the U.S. press has dared to use during the Reagan era. There isn't the substance of democracy, but there is the form, and even that makes a difference in ordinary lives. It leads to ambiguities that propagandists on both sides would rather ignore. Here is one small, revealing example:

On Nov. 13, 1987, I saw a woman arrested in Manila, illegally and brutally, just outside the Supreme Court building, on suspicion of being a Communist. Plainclothes police slugger human rights lawyers who tried to protest, dragged the woman into an unmarked car and sped off. Obviously they were making a point about the limits of the law. A German journalist standing near me said, "It's part of the LIC. Your countrymen know something about that." There was an outcry in the press, harsh criticism of Aquino's inaction and a petition to the country's high court. And within two days the woman was released. In the worst years of martial law she would very likely have ended up in the Pasig River, and there would have been no such protest.

The incident quickly became ammunition in the propaganda war between the government and the pro-NPA left. The authorities, trying to appear faithful to the constitution, claimed that they had observed due process, though no warrants were shown. The left dropped the woman's release from their version of the story.

The Philippines is a contradictory country, which one day looks almost liberal and the next seems poised for martial law. Neither the NPA characterization of a reign of terror in the country nor the U.S. State Department's image of it as a Western-style democracy is close to the mark.

New intransigence: Filipinos with access to the underground speak of a deep split between moderates and hard-liners in the CPP/NPA in mid-1987—and the evidence indicates the hard-liners prevailed (see accompanying story). The NPA's Armed City Partisans launched a wave of "sparrow killings" of policemen and soldiers in Manila

that did not win converts among the middle class and brought police raids and vigilante reprisals to the poor. The NPA also targeted U.S. personnel for the first time. It turned to economic sabotage, initiated the lion's share of encounters with the army and decided for the first time to look abroad for money and guns. The guerrillas also began to use kidnappings and made extortion a centerpiece of their tactics. Neither side is now offering anything but threats of force and more force to a people weary of two decades of war.

The Communists have owed their hard-won success to patient organizing, relative flexibility and widespread hatred for Marcos. They can't afford to lose the moment to the present regime, which, for all its failures, has made their work far more difficult. Unable or unwilling to come to terms with the Aquino government, the NPA and its allies now have to undermine it—to bring on a more obviously ruthless and less-popular regime that, in the long run, will be easier to fight. The CPP/NPA and its allies now claim an "undeclared martial law" is in effect. What they need to polarize the situation is a declared one. A respected leftist with close ties to the underground observed that the extreme left and extreme right are, for now, tactical allies.

But the NPA hasn't lost its talent for cutting a deal. That much was clear from the visit to Bicol. Steeped in the old Filipino politics of territoriality, opportunism, extortion and killing—"guns, goons and gold"—the revolutionary left seemed close to resembling the thing it wants to destroy. Llamas and Villafuerte understand each other; they are playing the same game.

George Packer's book, *The Village of Waiting*, will be published by Vintage this summer.

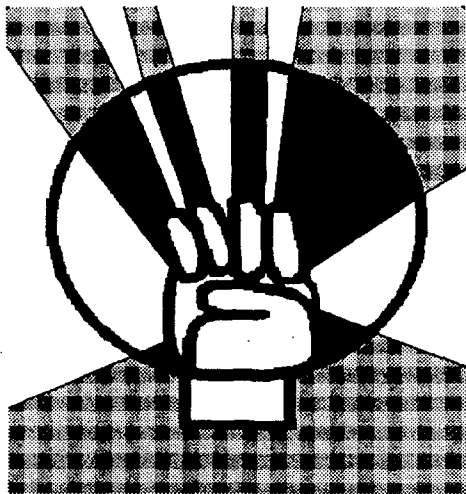
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May 13-15

“Advancing the Union Democracy Cause”—USC campus. Discussing: Your rights in your unions, federal trusteeships, women in unions, union democracy law. Speakers: Joe Rauh, Clyde Summers, Barbara Harvey, Herman Benson, Arthur Fox, Paul Alan Levy, Ed Stier (IBT Local 560 Trustee), Susan Jennik, Jerry Tucker, Teamsters, construction workers, public employees, musicians, etc. Association for Union Democracy, 30 Third Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11217; (718) 855-6650.

ATLANTA, GA

May 28

Great Speckled Bird 20th Year Anniversary. Ex-Bird readers, sellers, writers, staffers and anyone else are invited to attend this celebration! Saturday, May

28. 4:00-9:00 Atlanta Water Works Lodge. 665 Green St., N.W. For more information call (404) 874-0523.

PITTSBURGH, PA

June 7-14

Marxist Literary Group Institute on Culture and Society: “Feminism, Radical Politics and the Left,” with Hazel Kipnis, Samuel Delaney, Mahasweta Devi, Jean Franco, Fredric Jameson, Laura Kipnis, Mary Layoun, Paul Smith, Gayatri Spivak, Susan Willis. Information registration: Paul Smith, Department of English, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA 15260; (412) 268-6447.

NATIONAL

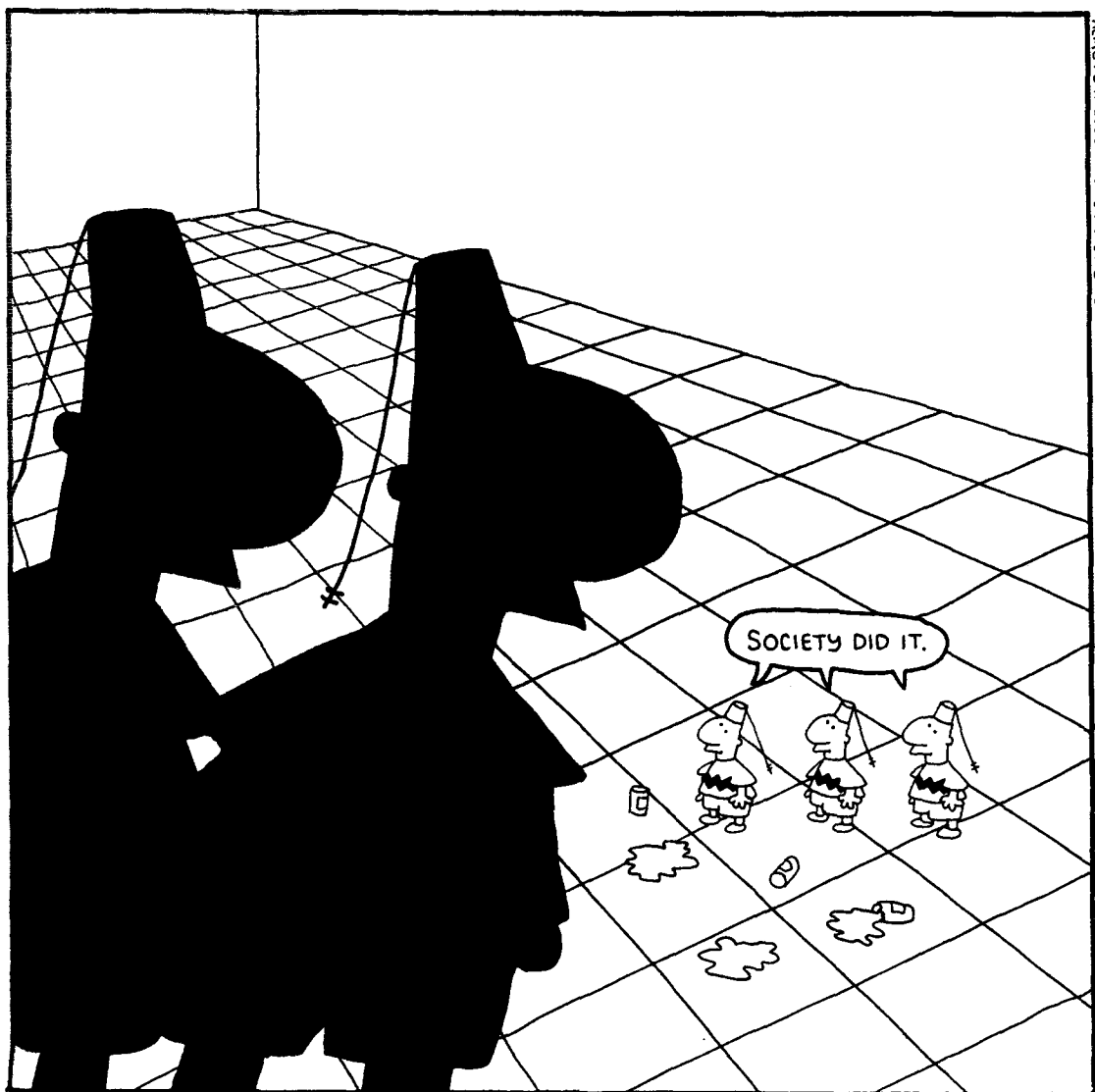
June 10

National/International Weapons Facilities Conference, Fordham University-Lincoln Center. Strategy conference for activists organizing at nuclear and conventional weapons facilities, military bases, naval ports. Conference is part of activities planned around the Third U.N. Special Session on Disarmament. Contact: National Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, #418, New York, NY 10003; (212) 995-8787.

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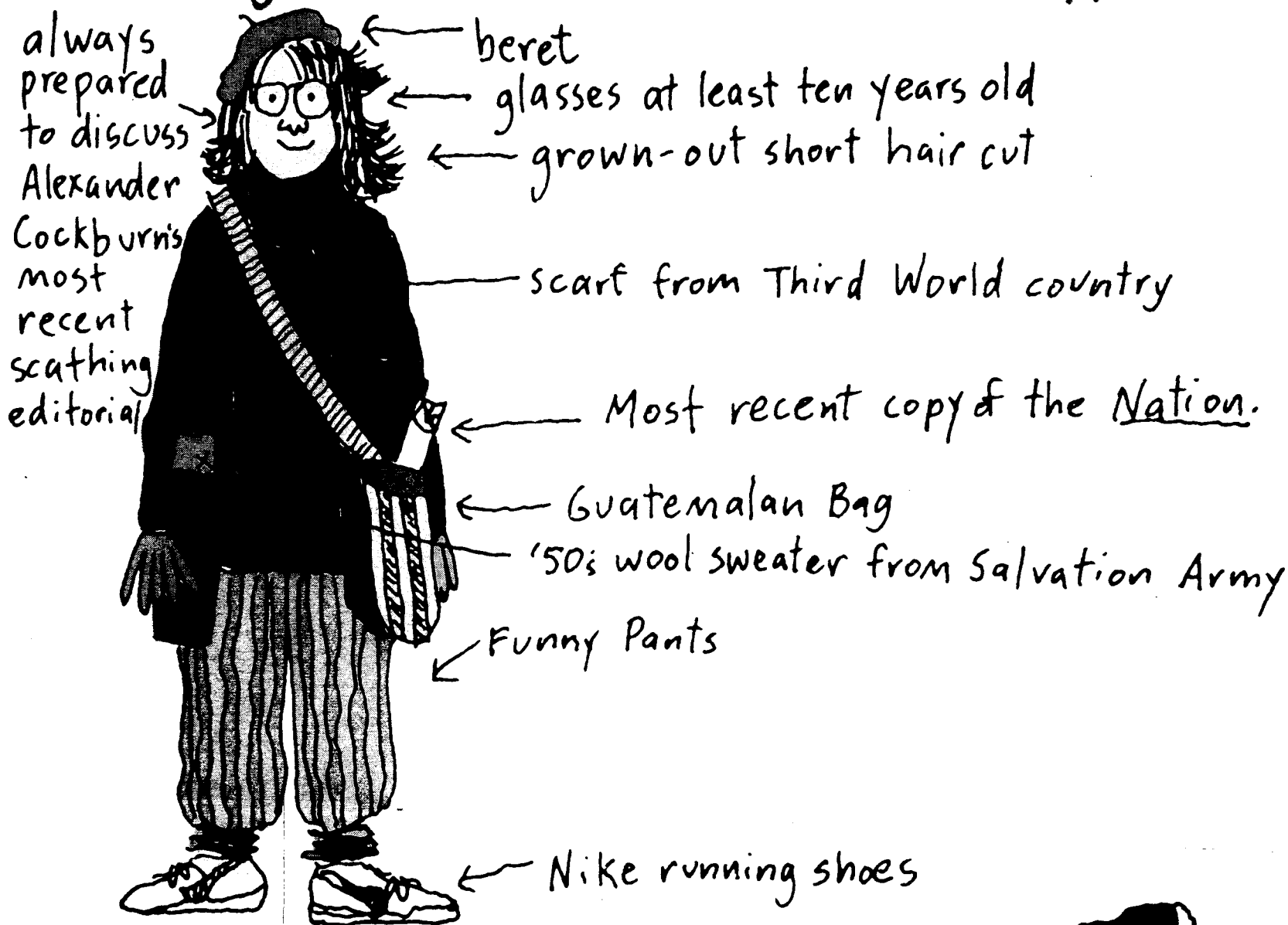
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Common Characteristics:

- Know some of the words to "the Internationale"
- Know at least 5 people who have been to Esteli
- Drink lots of coffee
- Have wealthy parents
- Know protest chants in Spanish
- Love Thai food & greasy diners
- don't run
- bad at math

Shapeless wool hat

old glasses (black frame nerd glasses most popular)

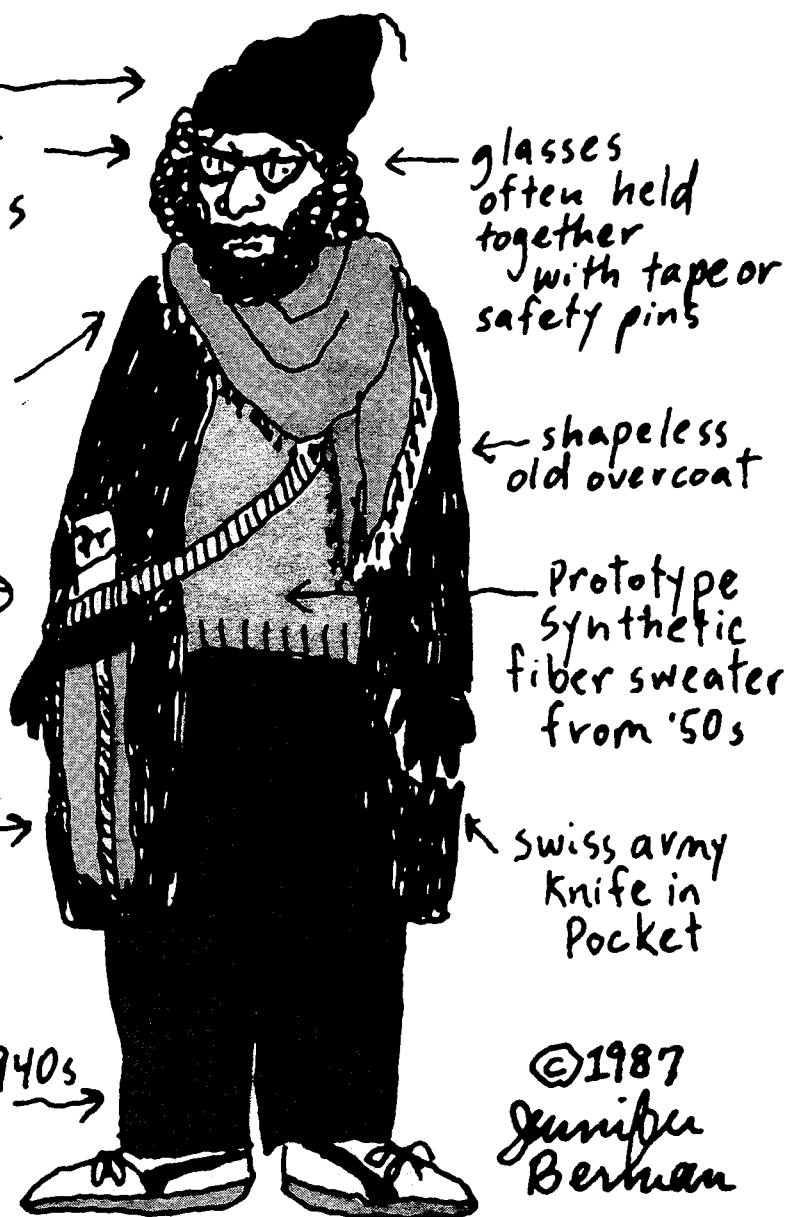
Palestinian style scarf

Alice Walker novel, In These Times

Guatemalan bag

Salvation Army pants from 1940s

Nike running shoes



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